

Acton. d. 25. 145.

The Grand
Expedient
FOR
Suppressing P O P E R Y
EXAMINED.
OR
The P R O J E C T of
EXCLUSION
Proved to be contrary to
Reason and Religion.

By *Robert Clipsham*, Canon of *Chichester*.

To the Excluders.

Are your minds set upon Righteousness, O ye Congregation, and do ye judge the thing that is Right, O ye Sons of Men? Ps. 58. 1.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Freeman* over against
the *Devil-Tavern* by *Temple-Bar* in
Fleetstreet. 1685.



061:2359

To the Honourable Sir John Farrington,
Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of the
Peace for the County of Suffex.

SIR,

THat I have prefix'd your Honour'd
Name to this Discourse, will not
(I am confident) be displeasing
to you, for as much as in it I
plead that Cause, for which you have ex-
press'd so great a Concern : When the E-
nemies of the Royal Family were at the
highest, puff'd up with the vain hopes of
gaining their so much desired Point, the
Exclusion of his Royal Highness, When
they reviled and treated the Opposers of
that wicked *Project* at their pleasure : even
then, as became a Person of Eminent
Courage and Loyalty, you declared your
just Indignation against, and condemn'd
it as a most impious Device.

And seeing one great design of this
Discourse, is to prove the *Bill of Exclu-
sion* to be as unjust as you have always
thought it, to whom with greater Reason
can this that I have writ address it self for
protection, than to a Person of such
known and unquestion'd Loyalty, you be-
ing One of those Brave and Loyal Persons,
that truly honour and heartily desire the
Felicity of the King and his most Glori-

Epistle Dedicatory.

ous Family, and this in so high a degree that you have suffer'd for it, been most unjustly deprived of a considerable part of your Birth-right for no other cause at all, but your Devotion to your Prince, and Zeal for his Service? But hereby you will be no looser in the end, because God Almighty, I am sure, will bless and prosper you, and all good men do, and will love and honour you.

Besides, your good opinion of this Discourse, that it will be serviceable to the Great Ends I writ it for, encouraged me to make it publick, and to put it into the World under your Patronage, not doubting but you will accept that, which you were pleased to entertain such favourable thoughts of.

Hereby also I have an opportunity openly to acknowledg my great obligations to you, and beseech you to receive this as a Testimony of my Gratitude for the many and undeserved civilities with which you have treated me, which if you please to do, I shall ever own it an high favour to him, that hath the greatest reason to Subscribe himself, Sir,

Your most humble and
devoted Servant

Robert Clippsham

To the
R E A D E R.

What Entertainment the following Discourse will find with Two sorts of Men, is no hard matter to foretell: They will Cast all the Contempt and Reproach they can upon It, and the Author; Muster up all the Calumnies and Slanders, Attaque me with all the Wrath, Bitterness, Clamours, and rude Language, which they that reprove Mens Errors (though for no other end but that they may be perswaded to reform them) are commonly assaulted with. One of the Factions will call me Heretick, the Other Jesuite or Papist at the least; That will be angry and revile me for declaring against the Errors of the Church of Rome: This will be enraged and rail at me for charging some of the same crimes upon it, especially for Condemning that they admire, and are so fond of, their beloved Bill of Exclusion. But the great Searcher of hearts will, I am sure, acquit me from both those hateful Imputations, because he knows me to be neither Heretick nor Papist, though I confess indeed with St. Paul, that after the way, which

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they (of the Church of Rome) call Heresy, and those of the Separation as falsely call Popery, so Worship I the God of my Fathers; I am, that is, of the Excellent Religion by Law Establish'd amongst us, and by the help of God resolve to live and die in it, and therefore can be neither Heretick, nor Papist, and shall laugh rather than be troubled at them that call me either. Though I have given neither of the Factions just cause to call me so, because I have done them no wrong, but fairely represented their Opinions, and faithfully shew'd them their Errours, that (as becomes men calling themselves Catholicks and Christians) they may reform them: and therefore they ought rather to thank me for my charity than be angry with me: They are to be blamed for running into such Errours, and doing such evil things, not I for proving them so to be.

If Rome be a dangerous Church for men to venture such a Treasure as their Souls in, I did not make it so, but only call upon all that please to read me, to chuse a safer, that they may be sure to obtain that Immortal glory and happiness, the hope of which is the great joy of our Life, and our only comfort and support when we are to dye, and the enjoyment of it so desireable and un-
speak-

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speakeable a good, that none but the most foolish, and the most faithless men can be careless and unconcern'd about it.

And if the Bill of Exclusion be unjust, & therefore contrary to the Excellent Laws of Christ, the Authors, Promoters, and Admirers of it are to be blamed for fixing upon such a sinful Expedient, not I for proving it so to be. That God who hath done it hitherto, is still able to protect our Gracious King, and Excellent Religion from the designs of all their Enemies, and it is mine (and every good mans) daily Prayers, he will be pleased to do it. Why then should any so far distrust his goodness, as to do an unworthy thing to secure them, which are as safe already under the shadow of his protection, as they can possibly be? And if this Project of Excluding his Royal Highness be unjust, as I suppose I have proved it, if it were put in practise it would rather deprive them of the safety they have already, than procure them any more, this being to renounce the Providence and the Defence of the Almighty, which are endeared and assured by Righteousness, and to make Sin our Refuge, which as he forbids, so it must needs highly provoke him.

For my part, I bear no hatred nor ill will to the persons in either of the Factions, but

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wish them all happiness, and shew them the way to obtain it, that is, by renouncing their Errours, and all those Practises, that are therefore Dangerous, because Contrary to sound Doctrine and common Honesty.

Nor was it an itch after vain glory, or a desire to be in Print that prompted me to write this Discourse; I had no such mean inducements in my thoughts, when I resolv'd upon this Subject, for if that had been my design, I could have chose one less obnoxious to censure and misunderstanding.

The Truth is, I saw the King endanger'd for refusing to pass this unjust Bill, the Kingdom miserably divided and Distracted about it: I perceiv'd it to be a bone of Contention, because there was so much snarling about it, and was very apprehensive of the dreadful consequences of it, and therefore I thought my self obliged to contribute my endeavours to undeceive the People, by shewing them the Evil and Injustice of it; it being the duty of every good Subject to bring Water to quench the Flames of Sedition and Contention, which this Device had kindled: And I had, as I apprehended, great encouragement, and weighty reasons to prompt me to undertake this Subject. The first, because The Right Honourable the House of Lords cast out the Bill as an abominable thing,

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thing, and all the Loyal Gentry had publickly protested against, and declared their abhorrence of it, and indeed all of the Church of England that I converse with (though they heartily abhor, and pray against Popery) did freely own their great dislike and hatred of it, which satisf'd me that it was not my singular Opinion, that it is unjust, but that I had therein the suffrages and consent of all good men. The reasons too that moved me to it were weighty, which are these.

“ To vindicate the Justice of my Sovereign, by shewing he had the highest reason
“ to reject this Bill, and consequently to stop
“ the mouths of those that are so prophane as
“ to blame his Sacred Majesty for refusing it.

“ To assert and defend the Right of an
“ Injured Prince, to shew them that were so
“ unjust and unchristian as to Treat him so
“ despitefully, and to offer him such hard
“ measure, the evil of their doings, that
“ they may repent, and humbly beg pardon
“ both of God and Him.

“ To do honour to the Church of England,
“ both by protesting in its name against this
“ Project; and by proving it teacheth the
“ right way to Heaven (which will certainly
“ lead all that follow it, to the Immortal
“ Joys and Felicities of that blessed place)

“ to

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*" to reprove the folly & wickedness of those
" fugitives, that run from the Communion of
" it, either into Popery or Fanaticism.*

*" To caution or warn all that love the
" Establish'd Religion, not only to have no
" hand in, but to abhor and oppose the Bill
" of Exclusion, as that which will be an
" indelible stain or blemish to it, make it
" (if it should expire at any time) goe out
" in a snuff, leave an ill savour behind it,
" and hinder its happy Resurrection.*

*" To allay the heats, and calm the passions
" it hath put men into, and to let them see,
" if they please to open their eyes, what
" an evil, and wicked thing it is they ad-
" mire so much, and therefore unworthy of
" the value they put upon it.*

*These are the reasons that moved me to
undertake this Subject, and are sufficient in
my apprehension to justify the doing of it ;
so that if any blame me for it, I shall an-
swer them in the words of David to his pee-
vish Brethren, VVhat have I now done ?
Is there not a cause ? wherein have I
transgress'd or offended ? VVhat have I
done unbecoming a Christian, or a Prote-
stant in writing upon this Subject ? Had I
not great cause, just and cogent Reasons for it?*

*But I hope I have given no offence there-
by to any honest Man, I am sure I did not
intend*

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intend it : And as for the censures of all that are otherwise, I scorn and think them below my notice or observation, let them censure me as they please, I shall never trouble my self about them.

All that can require an Apology, is that which I am very apprehensive of, that I have wrong'd this great Argument by my low and unskilful manage of it. I wish with all my heart I could have done it better, it being in my apprehension a Case of very great moment and concern, though I must say, it was my endeavour to speak reason in the case, and I hope what I have done will find acceptance with all good men, and conduce to the great ends I design'd it for.

And seeing we all call our selves Christs Servants and Disciples, I thought it the fairest and most equal way to compare this so much admired Expedient with some of the prime Laws of Christianity, by which we shall all be judged at the last day, and have made it appear (I think) to be an open defiance and contradiction to them, and therefore not to be done by a Nation professing his most just and merciful Religion, which commands us to do good to all men, and injury to none.

*That which may be thought by some a great omission, is, that I have not consider'd
that*

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that which is alledg'd in the beginning of the Bill, as the prime Reason of their Resolve to Exclude his Royal Highness, That by his turning Papist great encouragement hath been given to the Popish Party to conspire the Destruction of the King, and Government, and the Extirpation of the True Protestant Religion. This indeed I said nothing to, not because it is unanswerable, but in truth because I thought it deserv'd no Answer : for unless they can prove he turned Papist with that intention, their taking encouragement from it to conspire against the King, doth not involve the Duke in their guilt, nor make him justly punishable, because Wicked and Trayterous People are glad of any occasion to do mischief, and encourage themselves to attempt it when no motive or inducement is offer'd them, and it is most unreasonable as well as uncharitable to believe he had any such intention : unreasonable because no Prince will be a Proselite to that which he believes to be a Trayterous Church, This being to put himself into the hands of his Enemies, and to run wilfully upon his own Destruction. If his Royal Highness be of the Romish Communion (which I do not believe) to be sure he thinks it an holy and a loyal Church, and upon that perswasion joyn'd himself to it : If so he could not possibly intend to encourage that

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that Faction to attempt the Kings Life, because he believed them honest and loyal People, that heartily abhor'd such wicked and cruel practices : but if he was deceiv'd in his Opinion of them, and those whom he thought to be Sheep, be Wolves, ravening and blood-thirsty People, and those whom he took to be Saints, be really Devils, this is their crime, not his, and therefore he is not answerable for it, and to punish him with the severity the Excluders design'd upon this supposal, is the most execrable Injustice, because it is to punish him for other mens Crimes, to deprive him of his Birth-right, because the Zealots of the Church he is of, are (though he neither knew nor believed them so to be) Trayterous and Cruel.

This will appear more plainly and convincingly to some, if we put the case thus; suppose the next Heir to the Crown , thinking theirs to be the best and purest Religion, and such as would conduct him most safely to eternal Glory and Happiness, should turn Fanatick, and that Faction Encouraged by his being their Profelyte, should Conspire the Death of the King , and the Destruction of the Church, which horrid Conspiracy being by the goodness of God discover'd, the Church party to preserve the King, their Religion, their Lives and Estates from the Rapine, Oppres-

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Oppression, and Cruelty, of that Faction, slighting all other means of safety, should resolve upon this as the only sure Expedient for that end, to Exclude the Fanatick Successor: In this Case he by becoming their Convert intended only to save his Soul, or go the right way to Heaven, but the wicked Faction (thinking they should never have such an opportunity again to set up their Discipline and way of Worship) took encouragement (though he meant to give them none) from his joyning himself to them, to Plot the Death of the King, and the Destruction of the Church. I demand then, if it would be just for this reason to Exclude this Prince? How would the Faction take it? Would not their mouthes be Open'd and their pens Sharpen'd against the Authors and Promoters of such a Bill of Exclusion? Would they not Fill Heaven and Earth with complaints and cries against such Injustice, and Injury done to a Prince of their Perswasion? no doubt they would! why then do they offer that hard measure to a Prince of another, that they would not have done to one of their own Church? For if it be unjust to Exclude the Fanatick, it must be equally so, to Disinherit the Popish Successor, because he no more intended by turning Papist to encourage his Party

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to Conspire against the King, than the other by turning Fanatick design'd to animate his Party to the like wicked attempt.

*So that to Exclude his Royal Highness for this reason, because his being (as they suppose) a Papist, hath encouraged the Papists to conspire the destruction of our King and Church, is most unjust, because (as I observ'd before) it is to punish (and that most severely) the Innocent for the Guilty, to ruin one man for the Sins of others: For that he intended by turning Papist (if he be so) to encourage that Faction to attempt such execrable things, as it cannot be proved (because 'tis known to none but the great Searcher of Hearts) so it is the highest and most horrid uncharitableness to suppose that the Duke in defiance to God, common Honesty, natural Affection, every thing that is Great, Good, and Just, should turn Papist on purpose to prompt and exite that Faction to murder his Royal Brother, that he might Fill his Throne. They that harbour such black thoughts of a Prince so Just in all his other actions, and so great a lover of the King as he is known to be, must needs be odious to God, his Angels and Saints in Heaven, and to all good Men upon Earth, and without such a purpose or intention, their taking Encouragement from
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his being a Convert to their Church, to conspire the Destruction of the King, and our Religion, doth not, cannot make him justly punishable.

Their other Pleas and Arguments for this Project of Exclusion, I have Consider'd in the Discourse it self, and given, I suppose, full and rational answers to them.

If any where my pen hath slipt, I hope Reader, thou wilt be either so ingenious as to pass it by, or so charitable as to shew me my mistake, that I may reform it, for I am none of those stiff and obstinate people, that resolve to adhere pertinaciously to their own Sentiments or Opinions, be they right or wrong, but shall ever account it a greater glory to amend an Errour, than to be able to defend it.

One favour more I beg of all my Readers (which they cannot well deny me) that they will please to read the whole Discourse, before they pass Sentence upon it, because that which may look like an Objection in one place, may be answer'd or taken off in another. I have no more to add but my hearty Prayers to Almighty God, that he will graciously please to lead us all into the Pathes of Peace, Piety, and Loyalty, that we may be happy now, and blessed for ever. Amen.

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The Grand

Expedient

FOR

Suppressing P O P E R Y

Examined.

O R

The PROJECT of

EXCLUSION

Proved to be contrary to

Reason and Religion.



WHen great and extraordinary dangers steal upon People, and give them no notice or warning at all of their approach, they produce in them strange Disorder and Confusion of Mind, a mighty Tumult or Hurry of Thoughts, *then*, as the Psalmist speaks of men tossed in an angry and tempestuous Sea, *they are at their Wits ends*, and know not what to do, *fain* they would according to the dictate and inclination of nature, preserve themselves, decline the impending evil, and the danger which

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approacheth them with an Aspect so menacing, or full of terrour, and the first Act of their mind upon the apprehension of it, is to decree and determine that it must be avoided; this is so great an evil that we cannot bear it, if it comes we are undone, it doth certainly bring ruine and destruction along with it; therefore we must, and will (if it be possible) prevent, or stay its approach, block up all the avenues and ways by which it may make its passage to us. Whilst they thus resolve, every thing that offers it self as a means of safety, and comes with fair pretences of security, is welcome, and receiv'd with all expressions of love and joy, they applaud and hug it as their Friend and Deliverer, and their minds are so pleased & transported with it, that they are not at leisure to consider whether it be just and lawful, whether God and his law allow them to preserve themselves by such means; to enquire, whether the safety it offers them at present, be not attended with more, and greater dangers hereafter: Whether that which they resolve upon as a means to save them now, be not inconsistent with their eternal happiness, and such as will ruine, or destroy them for ever.

For if either Reason, or Religion might be heard, they would satisfy and convince men, what a wild attempt it is to decline temporal dangers by such ways as lead to eternal miseries; to make use of such Arts to save them from suffering here, as will expose them to the wrath and vengeance of God hereafter; that no evil, unjust, or wicked thing is to be done, though according to the rules of humane policy it might preserve

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serve and secure us at present, because it is of infinite hazard to our Souls, and will be their eternal undoing.

When we can by fair and innocent ways provide for our safety, we are unjust to our selves if we do it not, but when these fail, and we are reduced to a sad necessity either to Sin, or Suffer, if we chuse rather to sin then suffer, we are prophane and wicked, have no Religion nor Fear of God.

But in great dangers there is no room for such thoughts or considerations as these, but every thing (by some People) is accounted good and lawful, or however, excusable, that promiseth safety and security, and when their Religion, their Lives, and Estates either are (or are apprehended) to be endanger'd, they hope God will not be extream to mark what they do amiss for the safeguard and defence of them.

These seem to be the sentiments or opinions of the Authors and Promoters of the *Bill of Exclusion*, otherwise they would never have fix'd upon this as the only *Expedient* to obviate and disappoint the black and bloody design of the Church of Rome : An *Expedient* so highly and apparently unjust, so dishonourable and reproachful to our Religion, that tended to blast and brand it with eternal infamy, and make it the scorn of all the wise and honest world. Blessed God ! Whither do pale and gasty fears, and blind or furious zeal hurry Men ? Had not our Nation incurr'd shame and contempt enotigh from Men, as well as the dreadful displeasure of God, by the barbarous murder and untimely fall of that incomparable Prince, King Charles the First, who was deposed, and murdered, and

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hurried to an hasty grave by the Fears, Jealousies, and Suspicions of Popery, which the Enemies of his Royal Vertues and Greatness buzz'd into the ears and minds of his People? For what moved them to leave their quiet dwellings? to loath the peace and plenty they enjoy'd? What drew them into the field of War, but Fear of, and Zeal against Popery? They were told by those, who they thought would not deceive them, that the King was turning Papist, that the Queen ruled all, that most of the Ministers of State, and the great Men at Court were Popishly affected and waited for a change, and if they let them alone the *Romans* would come and take away their Place and Nation. An accusation, though as false as the Devil, and such as had nothing to colour, or make it seem probable, yet all that wise and good Prince could do to confute the slander, to wipe off such an odious and lying imputation, all his excellent declarations, shewing his High Esteem, his Royal Affection, his Prudent Zeal for the Protestant Religion; his frequent and learned disputations with some of the most Eminent Papists, who (to their astonishment) found themselves silenced and confuted by him, and unable to defend their Church against the mighty and convincing Arguments with which this incomparable disputant shattered and beat it down; not his solemn protestation before a great concourse of People at his receiving the most Blessed Sacrament, nor any thing else he could either say or do, could clear him from the suspicion of Popery, or satisfy Multitudes of his People that he was not gone off from the Reformed Religion; but so deep
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root had the calumny took in their hearts, that they persisted in the belief of it, and that excited their rage, and so inflamed their zeal, that in defiance to God and his Law they offer'd themselves as freely to fight for the Faith, as the Christians did in the Primitive times to suffer Martyrdom for it, and would not lay down their *Rebellious* and *Unchristian Arms* till they had beat him in the Field, seiz'd his Royal Person, and by the Mockery of Justice condemned him to die. But when they heard him in his last words and dying speech profess and declare himself a Protestant (that being no time to dissemble either with God or the World) then (tho too late) all of them that had any remains of honesty, or fear of God, perceiv'd their errour, and said in the bitterness of their Souls, what have we done? How have we been cheated into Rebellion by Fears Jealousies and Rumours of Popery, & stain'd our impious hands with *Royal* and *Innocent Blood*? Wicked men, Sons of *Belial*, have blasphemed, and slandered the Lords Anointed, accused him to us as a Papist, and an enemy of the true Religion, and we were so wicked and credulous as to believe them, and contribute our accursed endeavours to depose and destroy him.

After such an horrid crime, and tremendous wickedness as this, had rendred our Nation and Religion odious and contemptible to the World, and we had endeavoured to make some reparation for it, by our impatient desires and longings for the return of our present most Gracious Sovereign, by Congratulating his arrival with the loudest acclamations and expressions of joy, by doing justice upon those execrable wretches that were the prime actors in that black Tragedy,

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and with solemn penitence beg'd Pardon of, and reconcil'd our selves to God, so that hereby we began to recover our lost honour, and the good opinion of our neighbour Nations: After all this, I say, to return to our vomit again, to be so frightened out of our Wits and our Religion, by the news of Popery, and the discovery of the Cursed and Cruel design of the Papists to destroy our King and Church, as to overlook and despise all lawful means of safety, and to resolve upon a wicked and barbarous *Bill of Exclusion*, as the only *Preservative*, or *Expedient* to save them? What is this but to rave, and be mad again? To brand our selves with new Infamy and Reproach? To proclaim the Injustice and Impiety of our Nation? To draw the eyes, and curses, and Arms of all the Christian World upon us? Nay to defie Heaven it self, and all the Thunder Bolts of the Almighty, or as the unjust judg confess'd of himself, *neither to fear God, nor regard Man?*

Sure this Popery is some horrible monster, a dreadful bugbear, that it can at every turn, thus *fright our English People out of their Wits*, prompt them to the wildest and most unreasonable practices? That the very suspicion of it could exasperate and inrage them so against their lawful King, who had the Devotion of an Angel, the Piety and Innocence of a Saint, and more then humane Mercy and Goodness, as to bring them to that Impious Resolution, which the *Jews* took up against our Blessed Lord and Saviour, *we will not have this man rule over us*. And if not that, yet a probability of his being a Convert to the Romish Church, should provoke
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our Commons, and some few of our Peers in so high a degree, as to put them upon *disinheriting* and *excluding a Son of such a Father*, and forgetting all the Vertues and Glories of his Renowned Ancestours, treat him as a publick Enemy, and take from him all possibility (as far as a Law could do it) of wearing the Crown that encircled and adorn'd their Wife and Royal Heads.

Such premises as these must needs infer one, or or both of these conclusions; That Popery is a vile thing, or they exceeding wicked men, that seek to prevent, and block up its passage to us with such Rampires and Bulwarks of Injustice, with the greatest Wrong, and Robbery, and Oppression. For my part I am no advocate either for Popery, or them that make such wicked and unchristian use of it, but renounce and abominate them both. That, 'tis certain, is an evil and impious thing, but yet the fears and apprehensions of it, must not, ought not to provoke or instigate our People to do any unjust or sinful thing to keep it out, because this is to dread and fly from damnation one way, and to run into it another. But that their hatred of it is most just, appears from the causes of it, which are the Errours and Corruptions of the Romish Church in Doctrine and Worship, and the intolerable Rapines, Exactions, and Cruelties of it.

The Errours and Corruptions of its Doctrine and Worship, our People know very well that the Church of *Rome* locks up the Holy Scriptures (which contain that most precious Treasure, the words of eternal life) in a forreign language which they do not understand, and casts the

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greatest contempt upon them, by denying their sufficiency and perfection, by enlarging the Faith which they propound, by setting up such a way of worship as they forbid, and say God abhors, and against which they denounce the most dreadful curses, and horrible punishments; by giving Men Dispensations to do what they condemn, and to omit what they require. These, and their other Errours are such an heap of dirt and rubbish, as hath made not only our People, but other Nations hate so foul a Church, which being often reprov'd and chidden for it, will not reform or cast it out of doors, but retains or keeps it as tenaciously, as if it were an heap of Silver, or pure Gold. Our People have no mind to worship Images, to creep to a Crucifix, to pray to Saints that can neither hear, nor help them, to kiss and fall down to their mouldy Reliques, nor to adore a consecrated Wafer, but would fain (that they may please God, and save their Souls) keep themselves from Idols, believe, and live, and worship their Creator, as he commands them in the Holy Scriptures, and therefore they abominate the Church of *Rome*, because it would not allow them (if they were Members of it) so to do, but would force them to make shipwreck of Faith, and a good Conscience, and that which is the result of these, Eternal Happiness and Salvation.

The other things that disgust our People, and render them such implacable enemies to the *Romish* Church, are its intolerable Rapines, Exactions, and Cruelties. Our People are not ignorant (nor is it possible they should, so long as we have so many Records and Histories relating them)

them) what spoil and havock the Romish Clergy made of the Estates of their Forefathers, cheated them of their Money by selling them Pardons and Indulgences, by telling them they might be redeemed, if not from Hell, yet from Purgatory (a Prison of the Popes making, and in a manner as disconsolate and uneasy, for the time the poor captives stay there , as Hell it self, if they were to be believed) with corruptible things as Silver and Gold. How they exhausted the Treasure, drain'd away the wealth of the Nation by *Peter Pence*, and First-fruits, and Tenths, and Fees for Dispensations, and investing Bishops, and Appeals, and I know not how many other ways; so that the Kingdom groan'd under their insatiable avarice, and beg'd of God, and his Anointed to ease them of such an intolerable burthen and oppression, not to suffer our Silver *Thames* (as it is called) to be the unhappy Channel to carry out the English Treasure, and cast it upon the banks of *Tyber*, to support the pride and grandeur of a Forraign Patriarch.

And indeed, the Flux was so violent, that if it had not been stop'd in time, it would have destroy'd the Body Politick, have let out the Bloud and Spirits of the Nation, discouraged their industry, and thereby beggar'd the People, for seeing their land devoured by Strangers, and Forreigners reap the fruit of their labours, being forced to send great sums abroad, and haunted continually with lazy Monks and begging Friars at home, the miserable People had no encouragement to imploy their time and labour to get Wealth for such Caterpillars to Devour.

And if Popery produce such oppressions, lay
such

greatest contempt upon them, by denying their sufficiency and perfection, by enlarging the Faith which they propound, by setting up such a way of worship as they forbid, and say God abhors, and against which they denounce the most dreadful curses, and horrible punishments; by giving Men Dispensations to do what they condemn, and to omit what they require. These, and their other Errours are such an heap of dirt and rubbish, as hath made not only our People, but other Nations hate so foul a Church, which being often reprov'd and chidden for it, will not reform or cast it out of doors, but retains or keeps it as tenaciously, as if it were an heap of Silver, or pure Gold. Our People have no mind to worship Images, to creep to a Crucifix, to pray to Saints that can neither hear, nor help them, to kiss and fall down to their mouldy Reliques, nor to adore a consecrated Wafer, but would fain (that they may please God, and save their Souls) keep themselves from Idols, believe, and live, and worship their Creator, as he commands them in the Holy Scriptures, and therefore they abominate the Church of *Rome*, because it would not allow them (if they were Members of it) so to do, but would force them to make shipwreck of Faith, and a good Conscience, and that which is the result of these, Eternal Happiness and Salvation.

The other things that disgust our People, and render them such implacable enemies to the *Romish* Church, are its intolerable Rapines, Exactions, and Cruelties. Our People are not ignorant (nor is it possible they should, so long as we have so many Records and Histories relating them)

them) what spoil and havock the Romish Clergy made of the Estates of their Forefathers, cheated them of their Money by selling them Pardons and Indulgences, by telling them they might be redeemed, if not from Hell, yet from Purgatory (a Prison of the Popes making, and in a manner as disconsolate and uneasy, for the time the poor captives stay there , as Hell it self, if they were to be believed) with corruptible things as Silver and Gold. How they exhausted the Treasure, drain'd away the wealth of the Nation by *Peter Pence*, and First-fruits, and Tenth, and Fees for Dispensations, and investing Bishops, and Appeals, and I know not how many other ways; so that the Kingdom groan'd under their insatiable avarice, and beg'd of God, and his Anointed to ease them of such an intolerable burthen and oppression, not to suffer our Silver *Thames* (as it is called) to be the unhappy Channel to carry out the English Treasure, and cast it upon the banks of *Tyber*, to support the pride and grandeur of a Forraign Patriarch.

And indeed, the Flux was so violent, that if it had not been stop'd in time, it would have destroy'd the Body Politick, have let out the Bloud and Spirits of the Nation, discouraged their industry, and thereby beggar'd the People, for seeing their land devoured by Strangers, and Forreigners reap the fruit of their labours, being forced to send great sums abroad, and haunted continually with lazy Monks and begging Friars at home, the miserable People had no encouragement to imploy their time and labour to get Wealth for such Caterpillers to Devour.

And if Popery produce such oppressions, lay
such

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such grievous or heavy burthens upon them, 'tis no wonder that the People are no fonder of it, and being by our Laws freed from such ravening Wolves, as the Romish Clergy were, when they had the Rule or Authority here, have no mind they should return any more, lest their long and forced abstinence render them more hungry then formerly, and whet their appetites so, that a moderate morsel or revenue cannot satisfy them.

But Money is not the only thing they thirst after, for they delight in Blood and Cruelty, think they do God good service, and offer him the most acceptable Sacrifice, when they kill those, they falsely call *Hereticks*, and root them out of the Land of the Living. Men of such a fiery or burning Zeal, that when they have Power in any measure equal to it, they make Living Bonafires, or Burnt Offerings of all that dissent from them, and will not truckle to their Superstition. Their horrid Massacres in *France*, their savage Executions by Duke *Alva*, and others in the *Low Countries*, their Inhumane Butchering, and cutting Peoples Throats in *Ireland*, their Gunpowder Plots, their Racks and Inquisitions, the Fires they make for the Living, and their Damning the dead Saints or Christians (as far as the Popes Anathema's or Curses can do it) to the everlasting Flames of Hell, are sufficient Instances and Monuments of their bitter Zeal, and barbarous Cruelty: These have enlightened and convinced a great part of the Christian World, that they are not of Christ (have none of his good Spirit in them) *who came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

Their

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II

Their Law against *Hereticks* (as the Learned *Episcopus* observes) is so Cruel, Bloudy, and Ne-
farious, so contrary to the mild and merciful Genius of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that Royal Law of Charity, which he would have extended to our very Enemies, that I doubt not to affirm, that cannot be the Holy Church (as they call and would have it believed to be) in which so barbarous a Law, so cruel a Discipline, so inconsistent with right reason, and common humanity, is in force and practice.

These things have created in our People a mighty aversion to, and hatred of Popery, and if their hatred kept within its due bounds, and shewed it self in just and lawful ways, they would deserve great honour and commendation for it, but to be so inflamed at every discovery of any Popish Plots or Designs, or by the impious frauds and artifices of the Seditious (who are always spreading false rumours of Popery to do mischief) as to cast off the Loyalty, Justice, and Honesty, which our Lord requires of all that profess his Religion, this instead of haters of Popery, proves them to be the Enemies of Christ, and equal Criminals with the worst of Papists, for every wise and good man therefore hates Popery, because it prompts the Zealots for it, to do such evil and wicked things as are destructive of Salvation, but if Zeal against Popery put men upon any sinful, and therefore damnable Practices, these are certainly as bad (if not worse) then those, and both of them go to the dreadful Regions of eternal misery and ruin : And however some may delude themselves, they that let their fears of, and zeal against Popery, incite them

Epist. ad Wading. Jesu Ant. Chap. 8: Pag. 126.

them to any Trayterous or Unjust Actions, have really no Religion, or fear of God.

And yet those Fears and that wild Zeal have had such direful influence upon our People in former times; and what a fright, hurry, and fury the discovery of the late Popish Plot put them into, to what violent counsels it prompted some (I believe) well meaning persons, and how it animated the Seditious to attempt against the Government, are as manifest as any thing can be. This also put the House of Commons upon *Excluding* his Royal Highness, as the only *Expedient* for suppressing Popery, an *Expedient* so much admired and applauded by them, that one or two Dissolutions could not oblige them to desist, or give it over, but the more it was opposed the fonder they were of it, and adhered to it with a most firm and immoveable resolution. And though the King, like a most wise and just Prince, told them the mischiefs, shewed them the evil of it, and let them know how impossible it was he should ever give his Royal assent to so unjust a Bill, and to divert them from it, Graciously proposed other *Expedients*, and offer'd to do any thing, that was just, they should desire to remove their fears of Popery, and secure the Establish'd Religion, yet nothing else would satisfy them, but with great Importunity and Resolution they urged, and stood for their *Bill of Exclusion*, thinking to tire out the Royal Patience by their obstinate adherence to it, and presuming his necessities at long run would force him to yield to it, not caring how they dishonour'd, so they could by any means oblige him to pass it.

And

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And so high an esteem had it obtain'd, so great an Idol was this *Bill* become, that to question the Justice, and dispute the Lawfulness of it, to say any thing to stop its growing fame, to represent though never so modestly, how reproachful it would be to our Religion, and how mischievous to our Nation, and to speak civilly and respectfully of the Duke, expos'd a man to the rage, and scorn of the People, brought upon him the hateful name of a Papist, if not of a Jesu-ite: Thus the Prophets words were inverted, and the woe he denounceth against them that call evil good, became the doom of them that would not do it, they that express'd any dislike of it were reproach'd, and run down with clamours and calumnies, but the Bill was cryed up as an Act of Heroical zeal for the Protestant Religion, & the only expedient to save the King, & the Nation, and the Admirers of it threw down the gantlet, and offer'd to maintain against all comers, that his Royal Highness by turning Papist hath made himself incapable of the Government, and that there is no other way to preserve the King, and to secure our Religion, from the dangerous attempts, that Faction are encouraged to make against them by the Duke's becoming a profelyte to the Church of *Rome*, but by excluding, or disabling him to succeed the King.

This is the great case I have undertook to consider, and shall do it impartially, that if it be unjust, as I doubt not to prove it, the Authors, and Promoters of it may see their error, and repent of so impious a project, and undertaking.

SECT. II.

First, Then I affirm, that to deprive any innocent person of his Right and Property, is unjust, and inconsistent both with the Laws of our Religion, and the Rules of common Honesty, and every man is to be so accounted, till he hath committed such a crime or offence as forfeits his Right: This is so execrable an injury, that God forbids, right reason condemns, and all civiliz'd Nations have, and do, and will so long as they continue such, abhor, detest, and shew their hatred of it by severe, and exemplary Punishments: This if it be done by private persons is Theft and Robbery, if by Magistrates it is Oppression, or perverting of Justice.

In those the crime is so great, that these must punish it, otherwise they do not answer the end of their *Institution*, which is to preserve the Society over which they preside, to protect and defend all the Regular and Obedient Members of it, and by inflicting exemplary punishments upon them, to be a terrour to the injurious, and unjust, and the evil doers: In these (the Magistrates that is) the offence is so abominable, as to draw down the horrible curse, and vengeance of God upon their guilty heads; 'tis to violate the trust, to abuse the power the great Governour of the World hath committed to them, and consequently to affront Heaven it self, and set it at defiance: Instead of Patriots this declares them to be Pyrates and Robbers, Men of no conscience nor honesty, who are so far from taking the fair and equal rules of Justice for the measures of their Government, that they
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proceed Arbitrarily, and make their will their Law. And the injustice is the more Criminal and Flagitious because it is without remedy or helps; for every man by the dictate of Nature, and the Law of self preservation, is sufficiently Authoris'd to defend himself, as far as he can, from private violence or wrong, if Thieves will venture to assault or rob him on the Road, or attempt to break and rifle his House, he needs no Warrant to seize or Kill them in his own defence, the violence and injury they offer, is a sufficient commission to justify his repelling, or resisting of it.

But there is no place for this in publick injury and violence, for if the Magistrate forgetting God and himself, will oppress those whom he should protect, and instead of guarding and securing, invade their Rights and Properties, they may not, must not defend themselves by force, *Rom. 13.* because God hath forbidden it, *There is no Power* ^{1, 2,} *but of God, the Powers that be, are ordain'd of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation:* In this case, Prayers and Tears (those now so much scorn'd and derided Weapons of Christians) are their only Remedy: They may complain to God, and shew him what wrongs they receive from his Deputies and Vicegerents, and beseech him to convert or turn them from unrighteousness and oppression, they may bewail their Sins that provoked him to set an unjust Ruler over them, and reconcile themselves to him by repentance, but they may not take Arms, nor use any violent methods to right themselves, or cast off that Load of
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oppression they groan under, this being to contract at least an equal guilt with that they complain of, and suffer by, and to lose all the reward they would obtain by innocent and patient Suffering.

But though they may not right themselves, yet God will do it; for *Vengeance is mine*, saith he, *I will repay it*; and mighty men, men in Power and Authority, if they pervert Justice, and oppress the Innocent, invade the Rights of those, that should be guarded and defended by them, shall be mightily punish'd; for Greatness, or Eminency of Authority (whatever some may think of it) is so far from lessening, that it aggravates or heightens the guilt of the oppression which they that are possess'd of it commit, and they should consider that Magistracy places them near to God, that they are his prime Ministers, receiv'd their Power and Commission from, and judg for him, and therefore are obliged, by the honour he hath conferr'd upon, by the trust he hath reposed in them, as they expect his blessing and protection, and would decline his anger and displeasure, to judg righteous judgment. *Be wise therefore, oh ye Princes, and Rulers, be Learned ye Senators, and Magistrates, and Judges of the Earth?* Learn that which God requires of, and hath ordain'd you for, and which the dignity of your office exacts at your hands; Learn, I mean, to do justly, to preserve, not violate, the Rights of any that have not forfeited them by great and wilful crimes; for this is not only the Personal Glory of them that Govern, but the Honour and Reputation of the Government it self, the Integrity, or Uprightness of them

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them that preside, brings the Kingdom or Nation into Credit and Esteem with other States and Nations, for the Fame of their Justice invites Forreigners to desire their Friendship, to enter into Leagues and Compacts with them, they fear no injury from a just Government, are confident it will never be drawn to any base or dishonest enterprise, will never be induced to violate the Faith, to break the Peace, to renounce the Amity it hath contracted with any of its Allies or Confederates, unprovoked: They have the same Opinion of it that *Pyrrhus* had of that brave Roman, *Fabritius*, who said, *that a Man might as soon turn the Sun out of his course, as turn him from the truth and honesty*: And they that enquire into the causes of the greatness and prosperity of the *Roman Empire*, will find that nothing made it flourish more, or help'd so much to raise it to its admirable Grandeur, as the generous Justice and Honesty of its Government; the Fame and Renown of this invited many small States and Principalities to incorporate themselves into it, as being sure they should be safe under the shadow of its Protection from the violence, and rapines of the unjust and injurious, and that the *Roman Eagles* would be ready to revenge the wrongs that were done to any of their Friends and Allies. This made *Rome* the Queen and Mistress of the World, and gain'd her more, and better Subjects then all her great Generals, and valiant Legions: This perswaded dying Princes to commit their Royal Off-spring to her



Pro. 14.
34.

her Care and Protection : This rendred her People so safe and happy, was so sure a guard and defence to their Persons, and Estates, that they who were not free of her by birth, were hugely ambitious to be so by donation : But when that Justice which rais'd her to, and supported her greatness declined, her glory was soon obscured, and she fell by degrees into reproach and ruin ; so certain is, that of *Solomon, Righteousness* (Justice that is) *exalteth a Nation* (raiseth it to honour and greatness) *but Sin* (that especially of Oppression and Injustice) *is a reproach to any People.*

Those Magistrates that banish Justice out of their Cities, and Dominions, bring them in a little time to Ruin and Destruction, drive away that, which is both their Ornament and Safety, their Glory, and Defence : 'Tis that great thing, Justice, that makes any Government beloved at home, and revered abroad, that secures it of the Esteem, and Obedience of its own People, and procures it the honour and Admiration of other Nations ; but where Injustice Reigns, and Mens Rights are Violated, there Ruin and Desolation abound, *hinc civitatum gemitus & ploratus*, hence come the complaints and tears of Cities, the murmurs, out-cries, curses, and frequent insurrections of the People, or, if not open attempts to cast off the Government, yet secret flights and escapes from it, and removes into other Nations, where they tell sad stories, make doleful Narratives of the Injuries, and Oppressions

pressions they suffer'd at home, that forced them to seek for Safety and Protection abroad, which easily obtain credit with those to whom they flee, it being reasonable to believe that such numbers of People would not exchange their native Country for a Forreign Land, but that the intolerable wrongs they endured, constrained them to it: So that their being there is a continual Libel and Invective against their own Nation, and the Government that receives and protects them, can have no Invitation or Inducement to desire the Friendship, make Leagues, have any Commerce with such a State, for being Treacherous to its own People, how can they expect it should keep Faith with them, or hope it will be honest to Strangers, that was so unjust to the Natives? But I think it needless to argue this any farther, because they are so Evident; that all Men who have any use of their reason will readily grant me these two things; That it is unjust to deprive any Innocent Person of his Right, and that every Man is to be so accounted, till he hath committed such a Crime or Offence as Forfeits his Right.

SECT. III.

The next thing to be considered is the *Dukes Right*, which is so plain and so certain, that it needs neither *Explication*, nor *Proof*; to *Explicate* it, is to tell my Readers what they know already, for none of them can be ignorant that he is next Heir to the Crown: What may be here-

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after I dispute not, it being possible that our present most Gracious Sovereign (whom God Almighty Crown with a long and happy Reign) may have Issue, if not by this, yet by another Queen. But, setting that aside, His Royal Highness is at present Heir apparent to these Kingdoms, there being no other that now appears so but he, and he hath the greatest Right or Property of any Subject in these Kingdoms. With us the Crown is Hereditary, nay Immortal, for the Law says, *The King never dies, but when he quits his Earthly for an higher (that is, an Heavenly) Throne, the next of the Bloud Royal ascends, and fills the Chair of State.*

It is so certain too, as to need no Proof; if it did, the *Excluders* afford Plenty of it, by attempting to take it from him, for if the Duke hath no Right to succeed the King, what need is there of a *Bill of Exclusion* to put him by it? The want of that Right is of it self a *sufficient Exclusion*? What madness is it to attempt to take that from him which he hath not, to disinherit him, to whom the Inheritance doth not belong? What need they trouble either the King, or themselves to bar his Claim or Title, if he have none? To make a Law that he shall not Reign, is a plain confession that he hath a Right to do it, if he survive his Royal Brother, otherwise the Law is needless, and fights with a meer Chimera or Shadow.

Besides, the *Bill of Exclusion* is in its own Nature, and the Intention of the Authors of it, either a *Cautionary and Preventive*, or a *Penal Bill*, or both: a *Cautionary and Preventive Bill*

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Bill to keep a Papist (whether real or suppos'd, I here dispute not) from the Crown, if so, it strongly asserts the Dukes Right, because without such a Prevention, if he be the longer Liver, the Crown will regularly, and *de jure* devolve upon him : or else a *Penal Bill*, design'd to punish his revolt from ours to the *Roman Church* ; but what sense is it to punish him with the loss of that to which he hath no Right. This is as wise as if the *Venetians* upon some Offence committed by their Duke, should make a Law that he should never be King of *France* : 'tis *brutum fulmen*, an empty noise, and insignificant sound ; 'tis a Law Penal, and yet inflicts no Punishment ; a Diminution, and yet the Person is no way lessen'd nor degraded by it. His Royal Highness then (the *Excluders* themselves being Judges) hath a *Right* to succeed the King, and that the Injustice of their attempt to take it from him, may the better appear, I shall briefly consider the greatness of this *Right*, or the value of the thing they would deprive him of.

'Tis an old saying, *de minimis non curat Lex*, the Law takes no care about trifles and petty things, but overlooks them as below its notice and concern : But a Crown sure deserves to be reckon'd *inter maxima*, amongst them that are greatest and most precious, and that Law that takes no care to secure it to the Right owner, much more that would Rob, or deprive him of it, ought to be abhorr'd and branded as *summa injuria*, the highest Injury, 'tis not properly a Law, but Impudent Tyranny and Oppression,

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a *Conspiracy* or Combination of *unjust Men* to degrade a Prince, and devest him of the greatest Right, for such the Royal Dignity hath ever been Esteemed by Mankind, and their high Value and Admiration of it appear from their Envy at them that have it, and their bold attempts to Invade and Usurp it.

The greatest Enemies of Kings have been, are, and will be, such as are desirous to be so themselves: The Rich & Orient Jewels that adorn a Crown, cast such a tempting Lustre, and look so Lovely in the Eyes of *Corah* and all his Sons, that their murmurs and complaints against those that own it, do commonly proceed from a Vehement desire to wear it themselves, who being misled by their Ambition, think it a Glorious Theft to Steal a Crown: A prize so Rich and Valuable in their Opinion, that they will seize it (if they can) upon any terms, run the greatest hazards, expose themselves to the most dreadful Dangers to obtain it, attempt it as *Jason* did the Golden Fleece, though watch'd by Dragons, and guarded with all the Artillery of Heaven and Earth. Bewitch'd and dazled with the splendour of a Royal Throne, mad *Corah* will venture to invade it, till oppress'd with the burthen of his Pride and Folly, the Earth grows weary of, and swallows him up. Flatter'd with the delusive hopes of ascending this, Foolish *Abfalon*, forgetting the Piety and Duty of a Son, seduced the mutinous Tribes from their Allegiance to His Royal Father, and by their Arms endeavour'd to Depose him, whom Heaven it self had invested
with

with the Government, and nothing could reclaim the *Traytor*, till he and his Ambition were buried together.

Search all Histories, look out the best, the bravest Prince that ever wore a Diadem, a Prince adorn'd with the noblest and most lovely Vertues, enrich'd with all those admirable perfections that can endear him to God and men, yet these cannot secure him from the Tongues and Conspiracies of Traytors, but with Impudent Calumny they will slander him to his People, endeavour with curs'd Lies to stain his Innocence, blemish his vertues, and to blast his Glories, that they may rob him of the love and esteem of his People, bring them by degrees to a dislike both of his Person and Government, and so prepare them to take Arms against, and depose him. What Prince was ever more Merciful and Compassionate then King *David*, as being fashioned and framed wholly according to his Heart, who is the God of Mercy and Compassion. Yet wicked *Sheba* the Son of *Bichri* lifted up his Hand against him, and blew the *Trumpet* of *Schism* and *Sedition* to rent his Kingdom from him. That peaceful and moderate Emperour *Augustus*, honour'd by his Enemies for his Princely Vertues, was assayled ten severall times by Conspirators. *Vespasian* even compos'd of Mildness and Clemency had daily Treasons against him, and his Son *Titus*, for his Pleasing and Amiable vertues termed by *Suetonius* the Love and Delight of Mankind, wanted not a Trayterous *Cacina*. Our Martyr'd Sove-

God and
the King
Pa. 3d.

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raign, King *Charles* the Blessed, that Mirrour of all Vertues, in whom all the Glory, and Perfections of his Illustrious Ancestors met and were United, how was he Blasphem'd, Dishonour'd, Ruin'd by them that envied and aspir'd after his Royal Dignity, and said with those Wicked men in the Gospel, *This is the Heir, come let us kill him, and seize his Inheritance.*

Were Tyrants only subject to the Clamours and Mutinies of the People, their misgovernment might justly be accounted the Sole cause of them, but seeing the best, the most just, and merciful Princes are equally assaulted by them, it can be nothing but Envey or Ambition that prompts the chief Rebels and leading Mutineers to enterprise against them. They think the Royal Dignity so Superlative a Glory, such a transcendent Felicity, that they repine and are grieved any should enjoy it but themselves, and do what they can to jostle him that is by wright possessed of it out of the Throne, that they may Seat themselves in it. For though *all Rebels pretend the common good*, yet *they all intend their private Profit, Honour and Advancement*; this is the mark they aim at, that is only the Colour or Pretence with which they wheedle the People, and draw them to their assistance.

The People, 'tis certain, cannot be better nor happier then under the Protection of a wise and good Prince, under his Wings they are safe, and free from Violence and Oppression: Here then all Rebels begin their Base and Wicked attempts against their Prince, this is their
first

first work, to perswade the People (who are not so wise as to know when they are well) that their Prince is not the Person they take him for, neither Loves nor cares for them, seems to be tender of their Rights, only to make them secure, that when opportunity serves he may seize them into his own Hands, and spoyl them of all they have. Or if the Princes Justice be so great that it cannot be blasted, and no aspersions will stick upon it, then they call his Piety in question, say he is not Orthodox in Religion, but a friend or favourer of the corrupt Church, and Popishly affected, because they know this will open the Mouths, and inrage the minds of all the Zealots against him, and consequently expose him to the greatest Dangers.

So that the transcendent worth, value and greatness of this Right appears from the mighty esteem and admiration that Men have for it ; that which all the ambitious envy the owners for, vehemently desire themselves, will run all Hazards, expose themselves to all Dangers for, venture their Lives, nay their Souls, to obtain, must needs be a great thing! such is a Crown on Earth, which evil Men prefer before one in Heaven, and good men think hath nothing which exceeds it but that.

Consider also the peculiarity, and separation of this Right, how few there are amongst all Mankind that have any just Claim or Title to the *Royal Dignity* ; it is not like the lower honours dispens'd to any great number of Men, but impropriate or reserved to a few Persons, and Families : the commonness of other things a-
bates

Chap. 4.
25.

bates their value, and lessens our esteem of them, but a Crown is so great a rarity that it is justly accounted the most Glorious thing upon Earth, and therefore it is the highest Injustice to rob a Prince of such a Jewel. It would be remembred also who is the *Donour of this Right*, and we may say of it as our Lord did of St. *John's Baptism*, *Is it from Heaven, or of Men?* doth God give Crown's, or the People? If they be not in his Donation, *Daniel* was much mistaken, who affirms, *That the most high ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will*, and all the holy Writers Err strangely, who call all Kings Gods Anoynted, and Ministers, the Sons of God, and the Children of the most high, and say he sets them on the Throne, and that they Reign by him, receive their Power and Authority (that is) Immediately from him, that he removeth, and setteth up Kings, and is wonderful amongst them: they tell us also that *Saul*, and *David*, and *Solomon* were chosen by him to be Kings over, and Govern his People, and that the Prophets had Commission from him to go and Anoynt such an one King, and *Abija* spake in the name of God, when he said to *Jeroboam*, *I will give the Kingdom unto thee*. Nor doth the Gospel make any change in this great affair, for our Lord himself own'd *Pilat's* power to be from above, and St. *Paul* affirms not only Government it self to be Gods Ordinance, but that, *the Powers that be* (the Kings and Princes that then Governed the World) *to be ordained of God*, that is, as the Learned *Grotius* observes,

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observes, *Authoritatem suam (a Deo) accipere*, In Rom. 3.
non minus quam si Reges illi per prophetas Un- 13.
di essent, to receive their Authority from God
no less then if those Kings had been Anoynt-
ed by Prophets, were equally that is Constitu-
ted or Ordained by him; as if God had bid a
Prophet go and Anoynt them. And if they
were so then, they are and must be so now.
Nor doth St. Peter contradict his fellow Apostle
when he calls upon the Christians to whom he
writ *To submit themselves to every Ordinance of*
Man, for by submitting to every humane Crea-
ture or Ordinance, he means, saith Grotius, the
being Subject, *Ordinationi isti quæ inter homines* In 1 Pet. 2.
in terris agentes locum habet, & habere debet, to 13.
that ordinance of God which hath, and ought
to have place amongst Men that live upon the
Earth, not which Men have set up, but which
God hath placed amongst them, and the sense
of the Apostle is plainly this, Submit your
selves my Bretheren to every Prince or Ruler,
whom God hath set over that Kingdom or
Province wherein you live, you are not, and
therefore do not think your selves excused
from paying all Loyalty and Subjection to
such a Prince because he is an Heathen, and
you are Christians, for that God whom you
serve hath given him his Authority, his Power
is from him, and therefore you must Submit to
him for his sake. If this be not the Apostles
meaning, his argument doth not inforce the
Submission he requires, for what sense is it to
say, *Submit your selves to every Ruler that Men*
have set up (whether he be Supream or Inferi-
our,

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ner *Chri-
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our, a King or a Vice-roy) *for the Lords sake* it should be rather for the Peoples sake, that you may please and gratifie them; that they may not be angry or offended at you, as despisers of that form of Government which they have Ordained or set up : but his urging them to Submit for the Lords sake, *must infer* (as a learned person observes) *that those Men who Govern the World do not act only by an humane Right, since if Government were not by Gods Authority, and Constitution, obedience to it could not bear a respect to God himself.* And as the Holy Scriptures affirm Kingly Government to be Instituted by God, so this is the sense of Antiquity, as is proved by that Author, to whom I refer the Reader, and shall only transcribe out of him, those words of Paulus Orosius, *That all Power and Government is of God, is that which they, who have not read the Scriptures do think, and they who have read them do know.*

And if God be the Donour of Crowns, if he gives the Royal Dignity to, and takes it from whom he pleaseth, we ought to submit to his wise disposal, and be content that he should order this great Affair as he thinks fit. For when he will have a Prince to Reign, it is not in the Power of Men to hinder it, though the People struggle and oppose it all they can, and come to that Resolution, *We will not have this Man Rule over us*, though they make Laws, enter into Leagues and Associations, bind themselves by Oaths and Engagements to oppose and keep him from it, yet when they have done

done all they can, he shall Ascend the Royal Throne, and Injoy the Crown which Heaven hath design'd for him : And on the other side, when God will not have a Prince Reign, all his Friends, Counsels, Endeavours, how numerous, Powerful, Politick, diligent soever, shall not profit or avail him any thing ; the great Disposer of Crowns and Kingdoms opposeth his Exaltation, and therefore he must be content with a lower Station : In this Case there needs no *Bill of Exclusion* upon Earth to bar his claim, because there is one passed in Heaven, that cannot be repeal'd.

The Duke then hath an undoubted Right to succeed the King, and being so great a Right, a Right to that which is admir'd, and accounted by all Mankind the Richest Jewel, and most Glorious thing upon Earth, and hath the God of Heaven for the *Donour* of it, I leave it to the Consciences of the *Excluders* to determine, what high and horrid Injustice it is to deprive, or take it from him, if he have not *forfeited this Right* ; which is now to be Examined or enquir'd into.

All I know, that is pleaded for the affirmative, is his changing his Religion or turning Papist, and the Dangers thence proceeding to our most Gracious King, and excellent Religion : here then two things are to be enquired into ; First, *Whether the Duke be a Papist ?* Secondly, If he be, *whether that forfeits his Right.*

SECT. IV.

First, *Whether His Royal Highness be a Papist*, revolted from oursto the Romish Church and Religion? I may have leave I hope to put the *Question*, and no good Man will be offend- ed at me, if I have that honour for a *Grand- Child* of our English *Solomon*, King *James*; who was so zealous an Opposer of the Romish Superstition, for a *Son* of the Royal Martyr, who Lived and Died in the Holy Apostolical Faith, professed in our Church, for a *Brother*, the only *Brother* of our present most Gracious Sovereign, who is the *Great Patron and Pro- tector of the Reformed Religion*, as not rashly to conclude him guilty of such a change, a change so reproachful to them, and Injurious to himself.

The *Excluders* I know will laugh at, nay be angry with me for putting the *Question*, it be- ing (as they affirm) Notorious that he is a Papist, and they believe him so to be, as verily as they believe any Article of the Creed; but I confess, I do not think it so notorious as is pre- tended, but look upon it as a doubtful Case; because his Royal Highness hath so much rea- son to dissuade him from such a change, and because the Arguments for the Affirmative, that he is a Papist, do not as I apprehend, prove him so to be.

There is nothing, which they that are seri- ous in it, use to adhere to, with a more firm, stable, and immoveable Resolution, than the Religion in which they have been educated
this

this, if it have nothing else to endear, and recommend it, engages their constancy, and fixes them firmly to it, like the magnetick needle to the North : even a false Religion having the advantage of prepossession, will keep its ground against the true, though it comes with the clearest reason, the most convincing Arguments, and such unanswerable Proofs of its Divine Original and Authority, as may justly not only persuade, but Command Admittance and Reception. This detain'd the Heathens in their Abominable Idolatry and Superstition, it was the Religion they had been brought up in which they suck'd in, (as we say) with their Mothers Milk, and they were resolv'd to follow their Ancestours in it, as they had happily done those that went before them, and they pleaded in defence of their refusing Christianity, that it was a new Doctrine and an upstart Sect, not known, nor heard of in the Days of their Forefathers, and they asked the Christians in the greatest scorn, where was your Religion before *Jesus Christ*? And it hath ever been accounted a mighty Dishonour and Reproach to any Nation, or Persons, to change their Religion, but upon the greatest, most weighty, and pressing Reasons and Motives, and therefore God upbraids his People with it, *Hath a Nation changed their Gods, which are yet no Gods? 2d. 11. but my People have changed their Glory for that which doth not Profit* : Never any Nation was so absurd and unreasonable as to change their Gods, though false, and but supposed ones, till they were fully or thoroughly convinced

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ced that they were not what they took them for : As wild an Errour and oversight is it for Men to change their Religion, unless there be the biggest reason, and the greatest necessity for it : It argues great Lightness, Ignorance, and instability of Mind , to be of an Ambulatory, and gadding Humour in a matter of such moment and concern as Religion, shews the Persons guilty of it, to be of a weak and Childish temper, *Like Children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine :* It reproaches their Wisdom, Arraigns their discretion, that they should imbrace a Faith or Religion they dare not be constant to: such considerations as these do commonly keep Men firm & stedfast in the Religion they first imbraced, though a better be offer'd and proposed to them : But this is Foolish and Wicked Obstinacy, a blind and dishonourable Constancy, it being as St. *Ambrose* well observes, *nullus pudor ad meliora transire*, no shame, no reproach at all to change for the better, to quit errors for the truth, a corrupt for a Pure Church, a dangerous and sinful for a safe and holy Religion : but to turn from the truth to errour, from a pure to a corrupt Church, to exchange a safe and holy, for a lewd and dangerous Religion, is a great shame, and such a Sin as without Repentance must needs be Damnable, *if any Man thus draw back, my Soul saith God, shall have no Pleasure in him.*

They therefore that say , the Duke hath changed his Religion, reconciled himself (as they call it) to the Church of *Rome*, must say
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he did it either with Reason, or without ; that he had great and considerable motives to induce him to it, or he had not.

If they say he had not, but did it without Reason, they put the greatest slur and abuse upon him imaginable, charge him with the highest imprudence, make him a Child, not a Man, cast a greater Calumny or Reproach upon him, than that base slander, for which he brought his *Scandalum Magnatum* against the impious impairer of his Honour, this being to say, that he would in a sullen and unaccountable humour Create his Royal Brother (a Brother so tender of his Honour and Interest) so great danger, Vexation, and Trouble, put the Nation into such horrid Tumults, Disorders, and Confusion, bring upon himself so many Dangers, incur the Clamours, Obloquies, Hatred, and contempt of all the Factious People without any cause or inducement at all ?

If they say his Royal Highness had reason for this change, considerable motives to induce him to it, these must be, either his Interest and Advantage in this World, or his Salvation in the other, because these are the greatest, and most momentous reasons that could be offered to move him to such a change : but to turn Papist I shall prove, is neither for his Interest and Advantage here, nor his Happiness and Salvation hereafter, both these being better secured and provided for by his stay in ours, then they can be by joyning himself to the Church of *Rome*.

His interest and advantage in this World ; for what can a Prince, whom Heaven is pleas'd

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shall Reign, desire more then *all the Authority, Priviledges, and Prerogatives belonging to the Royal Dignity, a Loyal and Obedient People, their Welfare and Felicity, with all that Honour and Renown, Fame and Glory that these are always attended with* : Every wise Prince, if he was permitted to chuse his happiness, would have it Compounded or made up of such excellent, and desireable Ingredients as these.

Sublect. 1. First, I say he would enjoy his full Authority, all the Priviledges and Prerogatives belonging to his Royal Place and Dignity, all the Rights that God hath annex'd to it, he would be a King, not an Image of one, exercise his Regal Power in the full latitude or extent of it, not have it restrain'd or limited to a few things and those the meanest and most inglorious parts of his sacred Office.

This he cannot have in the Church of *Rome*, for there the Mitre Perks up above the Crown, the Pope, I mean, is Lord over the Prince, claims a Superiority, pretends to a Power and Jurisdiction over all Kings or Sovereign Princes by Divine Right, a Power to Excommunicate and depose them, to declare them fallen from all Dominion and Rule, to dispose of their Kingdoms, and give them to whom he pleaseth, to untie the bonds of Obedience, or absolve and discharge their Subjects from their Allegiance.

The first, that is, the Popes pretended Superiority

periority over him, impairs and lessens the Princes Honour, makes him a Subject instead of a Sovereign Prince, degrades him from the high Station, thrusts him lower than Heaven hath placed him, renders him not Gods but the Popes Vicegerent or Deputy, makes him a Servant to him, who is but a Fellow Servant with all the Bishops of Christ, and is as strictly and indispensably bound as they are, by the express Command of *St. Paul*, to be Subject to the higher Powers (that is, Kings and Sovereign Princes.) *Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers*, every Man (that is) whether he be of the Clergy or Laity; if of the Clergy, tho' a Prophet, an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Patriarch, a Metropolitan, a Bishop, all are included in it, and must be Subject to the higher Powers, so was *St. Paul*, nay *St. Peter* himself (from whom his Holiness claims Superiority over Kings) unto that Cruel Emperour, *Nero*, both of them suffering Martyrdom under him: and so far was *St. Peter* from claiming that Supremacy, which his pretended Succellors have so proudly challeng'd, so unjustly usurped since, that he gives it to Kings, Commanding the Christians to whom he writ, *to submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake*, to the King, as Supream, as the chief, or highest Minister of God upon Earth: And if every Sovereign Prince be Supream, or the highest Minister of God within his own Dominions, as *St. Peter* calls him, how can he have any Superiour?

To make two such (as they of the Church of

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Rome do) in every Kingdom, one to superintend the Affairs of Religion, the other, Civil Rights, or Matters of State ; besides that it is impudently and saucily to divide and separate the Powers that God hath joyn'd together , Kings and inferiour Magistrates (as the Apostle exhorts) being to be pray'd for, *That we may lead quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty*, but how absurd is it that we should pray to God, they may do that (which according to the Doctrine of the Romish Church) they have no Commission, nor Authority from him to meddle in, that is, to provide that their Subjects may lead *quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness, as well as Honesty*, to take care that their People not only deal Justly one with another, but also Worship God aright, profess the true Faith, and the Holy Religion of Christ, and be taught to lead their Lives according to it : Besides, I say, the guilt of dividing the Powers that God hath conjoyn'd or united, it is the very dregs of contradiction to make two *Supreams* in one Kingdom, for how can one be *Summus* or *Supremus*, the chief or highest, if the other be equal to him, 'tis as evident as the Sun when it shines brightest, that these are inconsistent, one cannot be the greatest, if the other be as great, nor one the highest, if the other be as high ; and therefore to give the Pope a Supream Power in all the concerns of Religion, is (however it may be colour'd or guilded over) to make the Prince his Slave, to give him not an equal, but a subordinate and dependent Authority, for he that Rules Religion

gion must needs Rule all, and therefore the Assertors of the Popes Supremacy, as they give him a direct and absolute Power in Spirituals, so they give him an indirect and relative Power in Temporals, in order to Spiritual, and Religious concerns, when the Interest of Religion requires it, he may Exercise a Temporal Power or Jurisdiction over Princes, Excommunicate or Depose them, give their Kingdoms to others, absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, give them Commission, or Warrant to take Arms against them, nay to Murder or Destroy them: So that the Pope (where he hath the Supremacy) is really the Kings Master, and absolute Lord over him, his Dominion is but precarious, during the pleasure of his Holiness; for so long as he behaves himself humbly, and dutifully towards his Holy, or Spiritual Father, Executes all his orders, observes all his injunctions, though never so barbarous, bloody, and inhumane, so long he shall have his Blessing, and enjoy his Favour: and being so dependent, he must needs have a tottering Throne, and an uncertain Authority, the Crown sits loosely on his Royal Head, ready at every turn to drop or fall off: If he dispute the Commands of his great Master (the Pope) complain of his Exactions, remonstrate against any of his proceedings, though never so modestly, if he express any sorrow for the intolerable oppressions of his People, if he be unwilling to Butcher, and Cut their Throats like Sacrificed Beasts, or to make Bonfires of Innocent and harmless Men, meerly for pro-
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selling the True Faith, and obeying the Holy Religion of Christ. If the Divine Goodness be pleas'd to enlighten his Royal Soul with the knowledge of the Truth, and by the splendour of that Light he see, and condemn the errors and corruptions of the Romish Church, then he is an Heretick, and they say of him as the Jewish Zealots did concerning St. Paul, *Away with such a Prince from the Earth, for it is not fit that he should Live, Excommunicate, curse him with Bell, Book, and Candle*: then it is meritorious to kill him, and his Holiness hath a *Ravilliack*, or a *Jaques Clement*, or some such Villain to assassinate, or murder him, who if he effect the execrable Parricide, shall be well rewarded upon Earth, or if he Perish in the attempt, be made (as far as the Pope can do it) a Saint in Heaven.

Consider then what Charms or Allurements such a Church can have to invite a Prince into its Communion? These certainly are so far from being attractives, that they are the strongest dissuatives imaginable, and instead of drawing him to, must needs deter, and drive him from it? A Prince that knows and hath had Communion with a better, must first run out of his Wits, before he can joyn himself to such a Church: A Church, in which he cannot ascend his Royal Throne without a Rival! a Rival, did I say, nay a most imperious Master, that is very hard to please, and yet if he be not pleased and humour'd in all things, 'tis a thousand to one but he will jostle him out of it, and lay his Honour in the dust: A Church, in
which

which he can Exercise but a part, and that the meanest, and most ignoble part of his Authority, that only which concerns the Civil Polity and Rights; for he may not meddle with Religion nor the Ministers of it, who are exempt from his Jurisdiction, and Sworn Vassals to his Superiour, and as such ready to revenge the Injuries and Affronts the Prince offers to their great Masters, if he dares be so rash, and unadvised as to be guilty of any; but of that afterwards. A Church, in which he that is Gods Image and Representative, less only then God, must sneak and truckle Meanly to an Upstart and Usurper, a meteor drawn from the Earth, and raised on high by Pride, Avarice, and Cruelty.

What Temptation then could his Royal Highness, who is a wise Prince, of a brave and generous Spirit, and so exceeding tender of his Honour, that he must needs in the highest manner resent the least Violation of his Right, all diminution or lessening of his Power, all invasion and usurpation of the Priviledges and Prerogatives belonging to it, both by Divine and Humane Right, if the Crown should descend to him? What Temptation, I say, could such a Prince have to joyn himself to a Church in which he shall be so degraded and dishonour'd, be a Vassal & Underling to one that unjustly, insolently, and prophanely exalts himself above all that is called God, that is, all the Kings of the Earth? Especially if we consider, that the Church he forsakes or goes from,

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Courts his stay by giving her Kings their full Authority, all the Priviledges, Prerogatives and Preheminences belonging to them : in this (that is, the Church of *England*) the King is declared Supream not only in Temporal, but in all Causes Ecclesiastical, superintends Religion, as well as Civil Rights, governs the Clergy, chuses the Bishops, convenes them when he sees cause, to make Canons, & Constitutions, Authorises & Impowers them to consult, & debate, to order & conduct the Circumstances of Religion (the Essentials of it being determined by God in Scripture) & what they agree upon, he doth at their humble Petition (if he approve of them) by his Royal Edict, confirm, or pass into Laws Ecclesiastical, and when they have effected what he called them together for, he dismisses or dissolves the assembly. Here the Kings Power within his Realms and Dominions, is affirm'd, and declared to be *the Highest Power under God, to whom all Men as well Inhabitants, as born within the same, do by Gods Laws owe most Loyalty and Obedience : And whosoever shall deny or oppose the Royal Supremacy is to be Excommunicated ipso facto, and not to be restored but only by the Arch-Bishop after his Repentance, and publick Revocation of those his Wicked Errours.*

*Canon 1 of
the Canons
Anno
1603.*

Canon 2.

So that they must be blind, or wilfully shut their Eyes, that do not see a vast difference in this great affair, between ours and the Church of *Rome*, in this the Pope is Supream Governour in all causes, and over all Persons Ecclesiastical, nay in Temporal too, so far as they concern Religion ; in that (our Church I mean) the

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The Supremacy is given intirely to our Kings, whose Power is expressly declared to be the highest under God, and their Authority extended to all Persons, as well Clergy as People, and to all causes, as well Ecclesiastical, as Temporal: In the Church of Rome, if the Prince claim the Supremacy, which belongs to him by Divine Right, he is Reputed and Treated as an Heretick, that is, Excommunicated, and Deposed, and if any of his Subjects dare to assert, and openly maintain his Supremacy (as in Duty and Conscience they are bound to do, because it is their Princes undoubted Right) they are Condemn'd to Dye, and Adjudg'd Guilty of such a Crime, as cannot be purged but by casting them into the Fire: In our Church all the Clergy are requir'd to the uttermost of *Canon 1.* their Wit, Knowledge and Learning, purely and sincerely (without any colour or dissimulation) to teach, manifest, open, and declare four times at least every Year, That all Usurped and Foreign Power, forasmuch as the same hath no Establishment, nor Ground by the Law of God, is for most just Causes taken away and abolish'd, and that therefore no manner of Obedience, and Subjection within His Majesties Realms and Dominions is due unto any such Foreign Power, but that the King is Supreme Governour in all his Realms and Dominions, in all causes, and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical, as Temporal: Or as it is express'd in the excellent Canons of the Year 1640, *A Supreme Power is* *Canon 55.* *given to this most excellent Order (that is, of Kings)* *Canon 1.* *by God himself in Scripture, which is, that Kings should*

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should Rule, and Command in their severall Dominions all Persons of what Ranks or Estates soever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, and that they should restrain, and punish with the Temporal Sword, all stubborn and wicked doers: The Care of Gods Church is so committed to Kings in Scripture, that they are commended when the Church keeps the right way, and taxed when it runs amiss, and therefore her Government belongs in chief unto Kings, for otherwise one Man would be commended for anothers Care, and taxed for anothers Negligence, which is not Gods way.

And if any of our Clergy, or Laity dare to impugn, or oppose the Royal Supremacy, they are Anathematiz'd, or decreed to be Excommunicated, which is the greatest Punishment the Church can inflict, and the most dreadful one any Man can suffer in this World.

'Tis most apparent then that our Church gives and secures to the Crown that great, and most precious Jewel, the Supremacy, which is the chief Glory and Ornament of it, which the Church of *Rome* so unjustly steals from and Robs it of: Here the Prince hath no Rival nor Competitor, none to insult or Domineer over him, as in the Romish Communion, no Lord at all over him, but the great Governour of all the World, God Almighty, to whom it is his Glory, as well as Duty to be Subject, and submit himself in all things.

And as our Church doth not diminish or lessen the Power of her Kings, so it is so far from pre-

pretending any Jurisdiction, or coercive Authority over them, that it abhors and detests it, declares it to be Treason both against God and the King for any to claim or challenge such Authority over them.

For any Person or Persons to set up, maintain, or avow in any their said Realms, or Territories *Canons of 1640.* respectively, under any pretence whatsoever, any *Canon I.* Independent, Coactive Power, either Papal or Popular (whether directly, or indirectly) is to undermine their great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred Ordinance which God himself hath Established, and so is Treasonable against God, as well as against the King.

In the Oath of Allegiance, which all our Clergy take, the Superiour at their Consecration, the Inferiour at their Ordination and Institution, they do profess, testifie, and declare, that the King is Lawful, and Rightful King of this Kingdom, and of all other his Dominions and Countreys: That the Pope neither by his own, nor any other Authority can depose him, dispose of his Kingdoms, nor give Authority to any Forreign Prince to invade his Dominions: That he cannot discharge his Subjects from their Allegiance, nor give Licence to any of them to bear Arms against, or to offer any Violence to his Person, State, or Government: By this Oath they bind themselves, notwithstanding any Declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication, or Deprivation, or Absolution, that they will bear Faith, and true Allegiance to the King, His Heirs, and Successors, and defend him and them to the uttermost of their Power against all Conspiracies and Attempts

tempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his, or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, and will do their best endeavour to disclose, and make known to the King, his Heirs and Successors all Treasons, and Trayterous Conspiracies they shall know, or hear of, to be against him, or any of them; That they do abhor, detest, and abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine or Position: that Princes which be Excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed, or murder'd by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever: Lastly, they declare also, *that they believe and are in Conscience resolv'd, that neither the Pope, nor any Person whatsoever, hath Power to absolve them of this Oath, or any part of it*: So that our Princes have all the Honour and security they can desire.

What Motives or Inducements then could his Royal Highness have to forsake such a Church as this? A Church that is so tender of the Honour of her Princes, so zealously asserts, maintains, and defends their Royal Authority, all their Rights, Priviledges, and Prerogatives, gives them no offence at all, is in nothing injurious to them, but next to the great Giver of Crowns, the Glorious Founder of their Order; Honours, Reveres, and Obeys them.

'Tis apparently the Dukes Interest to stay in this Holy and Loyal Church, to lend his helping hand to preserve, support, and defend it from all its Enemies, as his Renowned Grand-Father, his Immortal and most Glorious Father did so carefully in their Days, and his
brave

brave and Royal Brother doth with such admirable Courage, Wisdom, Watchfulness, and Diligence in this Stubborn, Factious, and Schismatical Age.

'Tis no wonder, if a Prince that knows no better, truckles to the Church of *Rome*, bears all the burthens, injuries, and oppressions it lays upon him, is content the Pope should Domineer, or Lord it over him, sneaks, and behaves himself as submissly to him, as if he was the meanest of his Domestick Servants, his Groom, or Stirrup-holder, as some Princes have been, his ignorance is the Mother of this Spanish slavish Obedience, and Devotion: but there is no place for this in his Royal Highness, he hath heard enough of the Insolencies, Incroachments, and Misdemeanours, the Treasons, Cruelties, and Outrages, which the Pope and those of his Faction have committed against Kings, he was Born and Educated in a Church that abominates, detests, and declaims against such Impious and Unchristian Practices; that Teaches all its Members, and People to *Fear God and the King, and not meddle with them that are given to change*, and therefore cannot be so unmindful of his Honour, and Interest as to make so unreasonable a change, to quit the Brave and Glorious Freedom of ours, for the base and reproachful Vassalage, or Slavery of the Church of *Rome*.

This is the first part of a Princes happiness in this World, to enjoy all the Authority, Priviledges, and Prerogatives belonging to his Royal Dignity, which I have proved he may do in
this,

this, but cannot do in the Church of *Rome*, and therefore can have no Reason, nor Temptation upon this account to run from ours, to joyn himself to that.

Subject. 2. The next great branch of a Princes Happiness upon Earth, is a Loyal and Obedient People: The Crown sits easie on his Head, & the Government is a Pleasure rather then a burthen to him, when his Subjects have an high Esteem and Veneration for him in their Hearts, Love and Reverence his Person, Rejoyce in, and are pleased with his Government, Pray for his Life, willingly Obey his Laws, cheerfully Pay him the Subsidies, and Tribute due unto him, Afford him such supplies as will support his Royal State and Dignity, inable him to defend himself, and them, from all the attempts of his, and their Enemies, and are ready to guard his Sacred Person with their Lives as well as Estates: Such a People are the chief Jewels of the Crown, the Treasure of the Prince, and the prime part of his Happiness: without such a People he is broken with Cares, distracted with Fears, disturbed with frequent Tumults & Seditions, indanger'd by Conspiracies, doth not sit safe, nor sure upon his Throne, and therefore must needs be miserable: Such a Loyal and Obedient People are all the true Members of the Church of *England*, all those Christians I mean, of this Nation, both Clergy and People, agreeing in that Faith, Government, and Worship, which are Establish'd by the Laws of this

this Realm : There is not in all the World such a Society of Loyal Souls, of Brave & Faithful Subjects to be found, that do so highly Honour, so Heartily Love, so Chearfully Obey, and Serve their Prince : They have got such an habit of Loyalty , 'tis so endear'd to, and so deeply rooted in their Hearts that it cannot without great difficulty be pluck'd up, 'tis built upon a Rock, the sure Foundation of Christs most Just and Holy Religion, they therefore Love, Honour, Obey, and are Faithful to their Prince, because God requires all this of them, and Commands them so to be, and because he is Gods Minister, Governs for, and receives his Royal Power and Authority immediately from him : And till they have unlearned these Grounds and Reasons of it, they cannot be other then Loyal and Faithful to their Prince, which they can never do so long as they continue in the Church of *England*, because they are a prime part of the Doctrine of it, which is constantly press'd , inculcated , and urg'd upon them : no Church in all the Christian World doth so strictly, and carefully, and sincerely observe that great and weighty Charge of St. Paul in both the parts of it: Put them in Titus 3. 11
Mind to be Subject to Principalities, and Powers, Church
to Obey Magistrates, to be ready unto every good Catechists
work : They are put in Mind of it in their Childhood, in the explication of the fifth Commandment, taught that it is their Duty to Honour and Obey the King, and all that are in Authority under him. Every time they come to Prayers, the Loyal Supplications, Intercessions,
and

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and (upon special occasions) Thanksgivings of our excellent Liturgy, for the King, and the Royal Family, and the Inferiour Magistrates remind the People of the true Obedience and Subjection they owe, and must pay to them, and humbly beseech Almighty God to give them Grace to do it : If they read the *Pions* and *Venerable Homilies of our Church*, there the Divine Original and Institution of Kings is fully proved, the necessity of Obedience demonstrated, the horrid guilt, the dreadful mischiefs, the woful Calamities of Rebellion explicated and detected, the heavy Wrath, and Vengeance of God upon Rebels and Traytors in this World, and the horrible Damnation that attends them, when they pass from hence, Faithfully represented, and described in a most Lively manner, that all who Read them may Heartily abhor, and carefully avoid so execrable a wickedness.

Nor doth the Loyalty of our Church lye Dead in the Books and Writings of it, but Lives and Reigns in the Hearts of all the true Members of it, and exerts or shews its Life and Vigour in their undaunted Courage, Resolution, and readiness to stand by, and defend the Sacred Person, Honour, and Authority of their Prince, against all that dare be so impudent, and wicked as to assault the first, to impair the second, or to infringe the third : I challenge all the World to shew me one true Member of our Church, that so long as he continued so, was found guilty of any Disloyal Practices : No, so far are they from that, that the numbers cannot soon, nor easily be told that have

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Sacrific'd their Lives, & Estates, & every thing that was dear to them in the Cause and Service of their Prince: His and their Enemies could, and did in the late times Deprive them of their Liberty, Plunder them of their Goods, Sequester their Estates, strip them of all things else, but their Loyalty they could not take from them, this they preserv'd pure and untainted in the midst of all the Oppressions, Cruelties, and ill Usage they endured, and when they were permitted to Live no longer to give any farther Testimonies of it, bequeath'd it as the Choiceest and Richest Legacy to their Off-spring & Descendents, nay by their true Christian Patience, and Undaunted Courage at their Death (a Glorious Death to them) to which they were Condemn'd for serving their Prince, did Recommend it to many, that came to see them Dye: A Loyalty not Limited or Conditional, that Dyes if it be not cherish'd and kept alive by the Princes peculiar Favour and Bounty, and continues no longer then he Pleases and Humours them, but absolute, and unconditional, that cannot be shaken nor removed by any wrongs or ill usage, but is the same when he Frowns upon, as when he Favours them: If he Oppress them in their Estates they Submit, if he cause the Sentence of Death to be unjustly pass'd upon them, they refuse not to Dye, nay do it with the Meekness, Patience, and Charity of the Primitive Martyrs, they will not lift up their Hands, nor open their Mouths against him let him use them as he pleaseth.

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The Fires of Queen *Mary* could not consume nor burn up their Loyalty, nor scare them from their Allegiance, she had never gain'd the Crown, if the Loyal Protestants had not assisted her, and the great Opposer of her Advancement to the Royal throne, was the Duke of *Northumberland*, who though he pretended to be a Protestant, yet was really a Papist, for so he declared himself to be upon the Scaffold at his Death.

Such a People make a Prince happy, are his greatest Safety and Security, and nothing but a guard of Angels from Heaven can be a better defence to him, which by their Pious and Holy Prayers they are careful to call down to Protect him, that no harm nor danger may happen to him.

And being sure by continuing in our Church to have such a Loyal & Obedient People if the Crown should descend to him, what Reason, Motive, or Inducement could his Royal Highness have to forsake it, and joyn himself to the Papists? People that are infamous all the World over for Killing Kings, Plotting Treasons, Raising Seditions and Rebellions against them: That are Obedient to their Prince no longer then he is a Slave to the Pope, for how often did they Mutiny, make Insurrections, and Rebellions against King *Henry* the Eighth for renouncing and casting off the Popes Usurped Authority, and resuming the Supremacy, which belong'd to him by Divine Right as a Sovereign Prince? Though he was a Zealous Professor, and maintainer of the Romish Religion,
yet

yet he was Alarum'd by frequent Tumults and Seditions, and his owning that could not keep the Catholicks (so they call themselves) in Obedience to him, unless he would be altogether a Slave to him that pretended to be the prime Minister of it : And though a Prince Study to Please and Humour them all he can, yet their Loyalty must needs be very fickle and precarious, because the People of the Romish Communion have a mighty Dependence upon, and are wholly at the Devotion of the Clergy, and the Clergy are exempted from the Princes Jurisdiction, and Sworn Subjects to the Pope : The People are wholly at the Devotion of the Clergy, who manage and govern them at their Pleasure, and they must needs be so, because they believe they can forgive their Sins absolutely whilst they Live, and pray them out of *Purgatory* when they are Dead, by forcing them to come to Confession they have Opportunity to know all their Errours, Sins and Follies, nay all their Thoughts, Purposes, and Intentions, which renders them very Subject, and Dependent : Their Power also of Inflicting Penances, and denying them Absolution if they do not please & humour them, keeps the People in great Slavery to their Priests , because they think God will not, if they do not forgive them, so that the People are absolute Slaves to them, and do every thing they require of them : And the Clergy that thus Govern the People, are wholly at the Popes Devotion, they own him for their Lord and Master, Swear Obedience to, and depend upon him as their great Patron and

Benefactor, all their Preferments being, if not in his Donation, yet such as depend upon his Approbation, and Confirmation, so that if they do not receive them from his Bounty, yet they Enjoy them by his Favour, which is Tantamount : This makes them flatter and adore him as the chief, if not sole Monarch, and despise their Prince as an underling, or meer Cypher, that signifies nothing : And at every little quarrel or disgust between his Holiness and him, the Prince is sure, to feel the sad effects of their Power with the People, either in the Disturbance they cause in the State, or the attempts they make upon his Person, for if they cannot run him down with the pretence and Accusation of Herisie (which they may easily do, because they are the Judges of it ; and may call every thing they please so) yet they will be sure to do it with the charge of unprofitableness, he is no longer useful to the Church, that is, his Holiness is weary of him, and that with them is, a Just and Sufficient cause of Deposition ; and when they pronounce that Sentence upon him, they only take from him the Name or Title of King, because they had Rob'd him of all the Power and Authority before, for how can he be a King that doth not Rule and Govern his People, and if the Pope Commands the Clergy, and they Rule the People, for Gods Sake who doth the Prince Govern or what Authority hath he ? none , none at all ! his Empire is but Imaginary , a meer Chimera , or faigned thing : I appeal then to all the Wise and Rational World, whether

ther the Romish Clergy deserve the Name of Subjects, much less of Loyal Subjects, that neither Obey the Prince themselves, if he refuse to be a Subject to the Pope, nor suffer the People to do it any longer than he is constant to be their fellow Subject to the Pope, his Throne must needs totter, and his Authority be a poor and precarious trifle, that is sure of the Obedience neither of the Clergy nor People.

And if it be a Princes Happiness to have a Loyal Obedient People (as undoubtedly it is) 'tis against the Dukes Interest to leave our Church, all the true Members of which are eminently so, and to join himself to the Papists; who are Notoriously known not to be so, this being to exchange Sheep for Wolves, Doves for Vultures, and consequently to underdo, and make himself miserable if he come to the Crown.

I confess indeed there is a Generation of Men amongst us, that call themselves *Protestants*, and would be thought the best and purest part of the Reformation, that have equal'd; if not outvy'd the *Jesuits* themselves in their Treasons, Seditions, and Rebellions against Kings, *these* were they that took Arms against and Murder'd that Incomparable Prince King *Charles* the First, of Glorious and never Dying Memory: These abjured and exiled our Present most Gracious Sovereign, and since his Happy Restauration have Created him so great Vexation, Trouble, and Disturbance: These too with the new Converts and Proselytes they

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have gain'd from the Church, and poyson'd with their *Seditious Principles*, Headed by some of the Great Men that either had cast off Religion, or being Male-content because they had not all the Honours, and great Offices they desired, or being promoted to them, did not injoy them as long as they would have done, but for their Misdemeanours were justly deprived of them, that they might be confer'd upon more deserving Persons, with others Alarum'd by the late Popish Plot, and Excited by their hatred of the Romish Religion, are the Enemies of the Royal Family, known Authors and Promoters of the *Bill*, and the late more damnable and accursed intended *Exclusion*.

But then I desire it may be consider'd, that these are not of the Church of *England*, but Fugitives and Runnagates that have withdrawn and separated themselves from it, they renounce the Church, and the Church renounceth them, they will not own her for their Mother, nor she them for her Children; they are so far from being Members, that they are the Sores and Ulcers, the pest of the Church, as well as of the Crown, and that they are equally hateful to them, is Evident, because they destroy'd the King and the Church together, or rather the Church first, that this being taken away, which was the support of it, they might more easily and readily overthrow the Monarchy, and verifie that which King *James* in his great Wisdom foresaw would certainly be, *No Bishop, No King*: And therefore none can with any appearance of Justice charge the

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Insolencies, Mutinies, Seditions, Treasons, and Misdemeanours, of that Stubborn Generation upon our Church, this being to blame it for the Crimes and Offences of those that are profess'd Enemies to, and open Dissenters and Separatists from it, nor in Reason expect Loyalty and true Obedience from them, so long as they continue such, for how should they Learn to Reverence and Obey their Prince, that refuse to come into our Assemblies, where such great, and useful, and concerning Duties are Preach'd to, and press'd upon the Hearers: Or if at any time they vouchsafe to be present at our Churches, 'tis never till the Loyal, as well as most Pious Prayers of our Liturgy are over, and then too if either the Text, or the Sermon have any smatch of malignancy (so they call'd Loyalty in the Days of old) or as the new Word is, Toryism, away they run as if they were frighted out of their Wits, or the Preacher had vented some damnable Herefy, which their Ears tingle, and their Souls are astonish'd at: These are Duties that are never taught in their Conventicles, if they had any mind to it, the Apostles of the Separate Churches have not the face to put their Hearers in mind of Obeying their Prince, because their Preaching, and the People coming to hear in those Places, are Acts of great, Scandalous, and Sinful Disobedience: And if the seeds of Obedience be not sowed in their Hearts by Learned and Constant Preaching, how should Loyalty as the precious Fruit thereof grow up in their Lives and Actions? They that prefer the Opinion of

Arch-Bi-
shop Spots
Woods
Hist:
Church of
Scotland
pa. 423.

that Scotch Villain *David Blake*, who said all Kings were the Devils Bearn, before that Affirmative of God, *I have said ye are Gods and you are all the Children of the most High*, and that assertion of St. Paul, who writ by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, *There is no Power but of God, the Powers (Kings) that be, are Ordain'd of God*, and neither desire to be (nor care to come) where they may be better inform'd, and Preach'd out of such Damnable Principles, cannot possibly be good Subjects: *Do Men gather Grapes of Thornes, or Figs of Thistles?* As unreasonable is it to expect Loyalty from these People, who have not hitherto been Taught, and have still no mind, or desire to Learn any, and do therefore cast off all Obedience to the King, and do all they can to tear or rend the Government from him, because like the Bramble they would fain be so, that is, Govern all themselves.

'Tis then apparently the Interest, and consequently ought to be the Care of the Government to reduce, or bring back to the Church these People that are gone from it, because whilst they continue separated, or divided from it, they are open and profess'd Enemies to the Government, and there is no other way to make them good Subjects: To grant them *Toleration*, is a sure way for the Government to Ruin and undo it self, because it is to give them not only opportunity, but Licence and Commission to Preach Treason, and disseminate their Seditious Principles with Impunity, to strengthen and increase their party, to gain e-

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very Day new, and numerous Converts and
 Prosselites (the ignorant People being exceeding
 fond of, and greatly delighted with their im-
 pudent, and Enthusiastical way of Praying
 and Preaching? and when the Terrour of the
 Laws doth not restrain, run after them with as
 much an eagerness, as they do the most plea-
 sing pastimes and entertainments) till they
 grow strong enough to overmaster and depose
 the Prince, and therefore they that advise him
 to grant them *Toleration*, do neither better nor
 worse then perswade him to be *Felo de se*, to
 Ruin and Destroy himself: But the *Mischiefs*
and Dangers of Toleration are so fully proved
 by the excellent Author of the late *Eccelesiastical*
Polity, that I need say no more against it, but
 only desire all that Love the King, and have
 any Authority under him, and wish the Peace
 and Prosperity of the Nation; to Read that
 Learned, Eloquent, and most Rational Dis-
 course, which will convince them (if Reason
 can do it) that the Government cannot stand,
 if these People be *Tolerated*.

Dr. Par-
 ker,

As for those kind and good humour'd Gentle-
 men that propose Terms of Accomodation, and
 would Unite or bring them to us by removing
 some of those things which they dislike in our
 Church: This I must tell them is rash and erring
 Charity, for they do not consider the surly, pee-
 vish, and insolent temper of the *Dissenters*, nor
 mind what their Designs and Perswasions are:
 For is it probable they who believe their *Disci-
 pline* to be the *Scepter of Jesus Christ*, and say
 all the Kings and Rulers of the Earth must
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and ought to Obey, and Submit to it, and if they do not, are the Enemies of the Lord Jesus, and will not let him Rule over them : And that their way of Worship only, is agreeable to the Purity and simplicity of the Gospel, and are so stiff, and peremptory in the belief of these things, that no Arguments, not all the Reason in the World can perswade them from it : Is it probable (I may say, possible) that Men who believe these things with such immovable Resolution, will ever be gain'd to our Church (which explodes and condemns them as impudent Errours and Lying Pretences) by removing a Ceremony, Abolishing (suppose) the use of the Sign of the Cross after Baptism, kneeling at the receiving of the Lords Supper, the Surplice, or any other harmless Rite, which the Grandees of the separation are convinc'd to be Innocent things ? No, no this will not do the work, they are for a through Reformation, the Common Prayer is an Idol, an Abominable Idol : The Order of Bishops not only a Superfluous or needless thing, not only an unprofitable burthen of the Earth, but Antichristian, and an unlawful Government in the Church, which they have solemnly Covenanted or Sworn to Abolish and extirpate, and will the shaking off a few Leaves, (casting away two or three harmless Ceremonies) either satisfy or divert them, that have laid the Axe to the Root of the Tree, because they think it Cumbers the Ground : They have the same thoughts of our Church Government, as that Famous Scotch Presbyter Mr. *Andrew Melville*

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Melville had of theirs, who affirmed, "That Arch Bish:
"the Corruptions crept into the State of Bi-shop Spots:
"shops were so great, that unless the same were Hil:
"removed, it could not go well with the Church of
"Church, nor could Religion be long preser- Scotland,
"ved in Purity : And therefore amongst other pa. 275:
things which the Presbyters of that Nation pro-
posed to the Bishops for Reforming the Cor-
ruptions of their Order, they urged (accord-
ing to their wonted Modesty) *That the Bishops*
should be content to be Pastors or Ministers of a Idem pa:
Flock (that is, of one particular Congregation) 303:
and that they should not Empire over Presbyters
but be Subject to the same : Very good ! this is it
they would have, either no Bishops (for to con-
fine them to one Congregation, is to make
them not Bishops, but Parish Priests) or if any,
such as will truckle, be Subjects and Under-
lings to them : A Blessed Reformation indeed,
to make the Fathers Submit, or be Subject to
their Sons, them that stand in the Place of *St.*
Paul, and possess the degree of *St. Peter*, are
(that is) the undoubted Successors of the A-
postles, do homage to them that succeed the
Seventy Disciples ? Which is to invert or turn
the Ordinance of our Lord upside down :
You are deceiv'd, ye Charitable Souls, that
think to bring the Dissenters into the Church,
by casting the Ceremonies they except against,
out of it, 'tis not that ; but the Preheminence
and Superiority they contend for, they would
be uppermost, Rule all both in Church and
State, this is the point they would gain, for
this they whine and wrangle, stir up strife and
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Sedition, Plot Treason from Age to Age, from Generation to Generation, for this they make Schisms, and set up new Churches, and scare the People from the Old, by declaiming against the Ceremonies, and crying out of Popish Prayers, Vestments, Rites, and Bishops, and bawling upon every Occasion (as if they would tear their Throats) *Popery, Popery* : 'Tis not Conscience, but Interest that puts them upon these extravagant courses, they are not so silly (I mean the leading Men amongst them) as to believe it a Sin to Communicate with our Church in all the parts of its Worship, though they are such Knaves as to tell the People so, that they may draw them from it, and having got a party strong enough, destroy the Church, and with it the Monarchy, that they may Reign as Kings, and enjoy their so much courted Empire and Sovereignty : Wipe off the Paint and Varnish, the Colours and pretences with which they endeavour to cover and conceal it, till a fit Opportunity, and every Eye (that is willing to see) may discern this to be the great Design they are Ingaged in.

Another Expedient I find tender'd by a Charitable hand for reducing the straglers to the Church, is *Instruction*, that they be shew'd the Innocent and Lawfulness of the things they scruple in our Church, and that they be fully Explicated, as also the Sinfulness of their Schism, or Separation from it, together with the mischievous and dangerous consequences of it : This is a good way indeed, but then the question is
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how it shall be put in Practice : I know but these three ways, Preaching, Writing, and Conferences : Preaching cannot do it, because they will not hear our Clergy, 'tis a rare thing to see any of the Dissenters come to our Parish Churches, when they may safely go to their own Meeting Houses, or if any of them be pleas'd at any time to come, if the Sermon tend to justify the Constitutions of the Church, to refute the Cavils and Objections that are made against them, to reprove though with all Gentleness, and the softest words, the Sin, and Error of those that separate from it, they are sad, nay angry at such sayings, go away highly provoked, and offended, and will not be so civil as to hear the Preacher out : And as Preaching cannot, unless they be forced to hear, and the just Correction of the Laws drive them from their Conventicles, to our Assemblies ; so Writing hath done no good upon them, all the excellent Books that have been written both formerly and of late Years by the excellent Divines of our Church, in which all their exceptions against it have been fully answer'd, all their scruples satisfi'd, all their Pleas and Apologies for their Separation thoroughly confuted, and the Authors of them put to all the shame and silence Men of their Confidence are capable of, yet they are never the better, but persist stubbornly in their wicked Schism, and prove to all the World that they are such as hate to be Reformed, the crafty seducers tell their Credulous followers, that such are Lewd and ungodly Books, and that frights them so, that they dare not upon any Terms give them
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the Reading; all that their guides think fit to do in the case, is to imploy some Pragmatical Fellow to write an Answer, which, how silly or impertinent soever, is admired and applauded by the whole Faction as an Incomparable piece, and the Author hugd and caress'd by the Brethren, and Holy Sisters as a very precious Man.

Nor can any better success be reasonably expected from the other way, that of Conference, because if they will not hear our Clergy Preach, nor Read the excellent Books they have writ in defence of the Church, they will be as averse (especially when they have their Liberty) to private Conference, be with great difficulty brought to admit the Charitable Person that comes to undeceive them, or if they do, they are generally so ignorant, and so conceited, that it is very hard to make them understand the nature of the things disputed, what Schism is, and how exceeding Sinful, and if this be done, they are so highly conceited of their own Gifts and Godliness, as to think themselves Wiser and Holier than he that offers them Instruction: Besides, they are such Slaves to, so wholly at the Command of their own Guides and Teachers, that if they tell them their separate Meetings are Innocent and Holy Assemblies, and those of the Church so impure, or defiled with Popish Prayers, Ceremonies, and other Humane Inventions, that it is not safe for them to venture their precious Souls in them, they believe such lying words as firmly, as if they were Divine Truths, and adhere to them in spight

spight of all the Scripture and Reason that can be brought against them.

These therefore, and all other vain projects laid aside; the Government (if it will be safe and happy) must with great and earnest care endeavour to reduce them to the Church, which can be effected no other way but by a strict Executing the Laws upon all Dissenters, & an unwearied persisting in it, letting them see that if they dare be so impudent as to Affront, Transgress the Laws, and defie Authority, that both will and dares do Justice upon such bold Offenders: This in time will make them leave their Fooling (to give it no worse Title) Teach the People to shun the Meeting-Houses with the same caution and waryness as they do the Dreadful and Disconsolate Places, where Misery and Ruin dwell: This will put them upon serious Thoughts and Considerations, Oblige them strictly to Examine the Cause for which they Suffer, prompt them to ask themselves such questions as these, what harm or venom is there in the Ceremonies of the Church that we should be so affraid of them, as to run from the Communion of it? Do not our own Guides and Teachers confess the Doctrine of it to be pure, or agreeable to the Scriptures? Are there not abundance of Learned, Pious, and Holy Men that Live and Dye in the Communion of it, and can we think that such Men are not Saved? And if they be? Why will not the same Faith, the same Doctrine, the same Prayers and Holyness carry us to Heaven? Are not the Doctrine, Government, and Worship the
same

same that were Taught, exercis'd, and used by those brave and Holy Men that with such admirable zeal, and courage suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of Queen *Mary*? How can that be Popery now, which was practic'd by them, who would rather burn at a Stake then turn Papist, and are we Wiser, or more Conscientious than they? The Wise Merciful Correction of the Laws will by degrees bring the Offenders to a sight and abhorring of their Errours, and produce in them such good Thoughts as these, and consequently ingage them to return from whence they are fallen, I mean to our Holy and Excellent Church, which will put an Happy end to all our Schisms and Divisions, and the People by coming constantly to our Pious Loyal Assemblies, will in a little time Learn to *Fear God, and the King, and meddle no more with them that are given to change*; But if this great means of reducing them be waved, or neglected, or coldly prosecuted, such a Blessed and desirable Revolution can never be attained, but our feuds and contentions will be Immortal, and we shall be as the scorn of, so the most Miserable and Distracted Nation in the World.

Without this nothing can reduce them, but in Conjunction with, and Subordination to it, there are other things that will contribute very much to it, as the *Exemplary Piety, and strict Conformity of the Clergy, and the putting them into such a Condition that they may not depend upon the Benevolence of the People for their Maintenance.*

Their

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Their Exemplary Piety, that none be suffer'd to Dishonour our most pure and holy Church by their Evil and unsuitable Lives, for though 'tis certain we have the most Learned, Pious, Unblamable, and therefore Excellent Clergy in the World, yet if there be any irregular Persons amongst them (as 'tis possible there may, in such a great Body of Men, be here and there one that forgets himself) that care be taken, and means used to Reform them, that they give no Offence, Minister no Occasion to any to Reproach the Church, or to speak Evil of our most Holy and Undeiled Religion: We see how cautious and careful the Schismatical Preachers are to seem Holy, that they may gain the Esteem and Veneration of the People, and lead them by the Noses whether, and to what they please, and if the shadow in them, to be sure the Substance of Holiness, a Vertuous and unblamable Life in all our Clergy, will gain them great Authority with the People, and convince them that must needs be an Holy Church, that hath so Pious, Regular, and Excellent a Clergy.

The next is their *strict Conformity*, that all of them be compell'd to observe all the Orders, and Constitutions of the Church. Unless this be done the People can never be drawn off from their prejudices against, and misperswasions concerning them, but will think them unlawful Impositions; because some of the Clergy do not observe them, and they will admire, applaud, and follow those that do not observe them, as the most Moderate, Pious, and Conscientious

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Men, but despise, censure, and withdraw from the strict Conformists, as violent, and Superstitious, & Persons Popishly Affected; but when they all agree or joyn in the Observation of them, not only speak the same thing, preach the same doctrine, profess the same Faith, Worship God with the same Prayers (the Holy Prayers of our Incomparable Liturgy) use the same Rites, Gestures, & Vestments in the Administration of the Blessed Sacraments, & all their Holy Offices, & walk all of them by the same Rule; This will satisfie the People of their Unity or Agreement, and convince them of the Innocency and Lawfulness of the things which so many Learned, Grave, and Pious Men concur in the Practice of.

But then all Wise or Intelligent Persons will readily apprehend, that this general Conformity will very difficultly, if at all, be effected, unless the Clergy be put into such a Condition as to have *no Dependance upon the People for their Maintenance and Support*: Many of the Clergy by reason of the poorness of their Benefices are greatly tempted, if not constrain'd to humour and comply with the People, to Preach such things as they Love to hear, and to omit such as they dislike, that they may not loose their Benevolence and Contributions, without which they cannot Live: nor is this the Condition of some Country Villages only, but also of great and Populous Towns, in which there are Swarms of People that Dissent from, and are Enemies to the Church of *England*, and such a poor Stipend for the Clergy, the Tyths being inappropriate and in Lay Hands, that they are forced in a manner to turn the Church Assemblies

lies into Conventicles, and the poor Vicar or Curate dares not for his Ears Read all the Prayers, nor wear the Surplice, nor which is abundantly worse, reprove the Irreverence and Rude Behaviour they are guilty of in the House and Service of the great God, nor shew them the Sinsfulness of their Schism, nor the Wickedness of their Murmurs, Complaints, and Tumults, against the Government, nor Preach up Loyalty, put them in mind (fully and effectually) to be Subject or Obedient to the King, and all that are in Authority under him, all that the most Couragious Person (under such unhappy Circumstances) dares venture to do in these great, and for the present Age most necessary points, is but to touch at them *in transitu*, as he passes to other things (as I have heard some do in London it self) or as the Dogs at the River Nilus, only lap and away, for fear of being snap'd by the Crocodiles; for if these things be press'd and insisted on, the Preacher disoblige the Fanatick party, and dries up all the Streams and Emanations of their Bounty, *they will not receive him into their Houses, nor bid him God Speed*, and 'tis well if he scape so, & do not feel the weight of their Protestant Flays.

This is a great Injury both to the Church and State, abates the Honour and Esteem of the Clergy, and renders them less Serviceable to the Government, than they must, & would be, if they had a Liberal and Honourable maintenance, and such as depends not upon the pleasure and Benevolence of the People, but such as they may demand of them as their Right,

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Men, but despise, censure, and withdraw from the strict Conformists, as violent, and Superstitious, & Persons Popishly Affected; but when they all agree or joyn in the Observation of them, not only speak the same thing, preach the same doctrine, profess the same Faith, Worship God with the same Prayers (the Holy Prayers of our Incomparable Liturgy) use the same Rites, Gestures, & Vestments in the Administration of the Blessed Sacraments, & all their Holy Offices, & walk all of them by the same Rule; This will satisfy the People of their Unity or Agreement, and convince them of the Innocency and Lawfulness of the things which so many Learned, Grave, and Pious Men concur in the Practice of.

But then all Wise or Intelligent Persons will readily apprehend, that this general Conformity will very difficultly, if at all, be effected, unless the Clergy be put into such a Condition as to have *no Dependence upon the People for their Maintenance and Support*: Many of the Clergy by reason of the poorness of their Benefices are greatly tempted, if not constrain'd to humour and comply with the People, to Preach such things as they Love to hear, and to omit such as they dislike, that they may not loose their Benevolence and Contributions, without which they cannot Live: nor is this the Condition of some Country Villages only, but also of great and Populous Towns, in which there are Swarms of People that Dissent from, and are Enemies to the Church of *England*, and such a poor Stipend for the Clergy, the Tyths being inappropriate and in Lay Hands, that they are forced in a manner to turn the Church Assemblies

blies into Conventicles, and the poor Vicar or Curate dares not for his Ears Read all the Prayers, nor wear the Surplice, nor which is abundantly worse, reprove the Irreverence and Rude Behaviour they are guilty of in the House and Service of the great God, nor shew them the Sinfulness of their Schism, nor the Wickedness of their Murmurs, Complaints, and Tumults, against the Government, nor Preach up Loyalty, put them in mind (fully and effectually) to be Subject or Obedient to the King, and all that are in Authority under him, all that the most Couragious Person (under such unhappy Circumstances) dares venture to do in these great, and for the present Age most necessary points, is but to touch at them *in transitu*, as he passes to other things (as I have heard some do in *London* it self) or as the Dogs at the River *Nilus*, only lap and away, for fear of being snap'd by the Crocodiles; for if these things be press'd and insisted on, the Preacher disoblige the Fanatick party, and dries up all the Streams and Emanations of their Bounty, *they will not receive him into their Houses, nor bid him God Speed*, and 'tis well if he scape so, & do not feel the weight of their Protestant Flays.

This is a great Injury both to the Church and State, abates the Honour and Esteem of the Clergy, and renders them less Serviceable to the Government, than they must, & would be, if they had a Liberal and Honourable maintenance, and such as depends not upon the pleasure and Benevolence of the People, but such as they may demand of them as their Right,

not receive as their Almshouses, which they may give them if they please, and deny them if they think fit.

These things in my Judgment (which I humbly submit to all those great and wise Persons that are in Authority) added to the Just Correction, which the Laws inflict upon them, would in a short time awaken and reduce those of our People that are gone out from us, effect such a Blessed change in them, that they would return to their Loyalty, to the King, and to the Communion of the Church.

And seeing all the true Members of the Church of *England* are Eminently Loyal already, and those of our People that are otherwise at present, may in time by these means be made so, 'tis against the Dukes Interest and Happiness, if the Crown devolve upon him to be a Papist; because this would be to exchange good Subjects for bad, a Loyal People that own no Prince but him, for such as have been guilty of frequent Treasons, and are profess'd Subjects to a Forreign Power.

Subject. 3: And next to his own honour, safety and happiness, all that a Prince can desire in this World is the Welfare and Felicity of his People: And then it is well with any People, and they are happy, when they Live in Piety, and Peace, and Safety, are encouraged and required to profess and practice the true Religion, and to Worship God Aright, that is, according to the Scriptures: When they are protected in their Estates from Rapine and Oppression, and in their Persons from Violence and Cruelty, Blef-

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ed are the People that are in such a Case. And it is both the Duty and Glory of the Princee to provide or take Care that this be the Condition of his People or Subjects : His Duty, because, this is the great end of Government, and the prime Reason of Gods Investing him with the Royal Authority : When *David* was chosen by God to be King of *Israel*, it is said, *Psalms 78: 71.* That he took him to feed *Jacob* his People, and *Israel* his Inheritance : To feed, (that is) protect and preserve them from mischief and Injury, not to Worry or Devour, to Destroy or Hurt, but to Defend them from harm and violence. And because he had been so to them, and they hoped he would have Lived long to be so to them still, they bitterly lamented the Death of good King *Josiah*, saying, *The Breath of our Nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord, was taken in their Pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall Live among the Heathen : he was* *Lamen. 4. 20.* a shadow and defence to us, under his protection we were safe, and guarded from all our Enemies. This is also asserted by *St. Paul*, *Rulers are not a Terrour to good works, but to the Evil :* *Rom. 13. 3, 4.* They are not so in the purpose or intention of God, were not instituted or ordain'd by him for such an evil, unjust, and unworthy end, to Injure, Punish, and Destroy good Men, they have no such Power from him, and if they do it, they abuse their Authority, and go beyond their Commission. A Terrour they may and must be, but it is not to the good, but to the Evil-doers : *Wilt thou then not be affraid of the Power ? Do that which is good, and thou shalt*

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shalt have Praise of the same, for he is the Minister of God to thee for good. The Prince, or Ruler is imploy'd by God, to protect and defend the good, and this is, or ought to be the great Design or Intention of all his Laws, that they be a safeguard and security to such, and a terror or restraint to the Evil and Injurious.

And if the Prince must not suffer others to wrong his People, to be sure it must needs be sinful and unlawful for him to do it : To Execute Thieves and Murderers and yet be Unjust and Cruel himself. 'Tis true, if he be so, his People may not, must not revenge the wrongs, nor resist the Violence he offers to them, because the Apostle tells them what the dreadful Punishment of that resistance will be, *They that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation* ; And because God is the only Judg of Kings, and he so Righteous a Judg, that he will be sure to Punish them, if they abuse their Power. When *David* was unjustly pursued, & Injuriously dealt with by King *Saul*, he did not study Revenge, but abhor'd it, saying, *God forbid that I should stretch forth mine hand against the Lords Anoynted* : He remitted or left him to his proper Judg. *David* said furthermore, *As the Lord Liveth, the Lord shall smite him, or his Day shall come to Dye, or he shall descend into Battel and Perish* : But as for me, I have no Commission nor Authority to cut him off, and therefore God Almighty keep me from committing so Audacious and Execrable a Crime or Wickedness.

But the Peoples having no Power from God to Revenge the wrongs done them by their Prince,

1 Sam. 26.
11.

Verf. 10.

Prince, is no encouragement for him to do them, because, as they are contrary to his Duty and the abusing his Authority, he is answerable and accountable to God for them, and must expect from him a Punishment equal to them. And that they may Faithfully perform this Duty, consult and provide for the good and welfare of their People, the Apostle requires, *that Supplications, and Prayers, and Intercessions be made for them, for Kings, and all that are in Authority, that we may lead quiet and Peaceable Lives in all Godliness, and Honesty.*

This, as it is the Princes Duty, so his Honour and Glory, when according to the Ancient Title of Kings, he is a Common Father to his People, hath a Paternal care of, and Affection for them, Loves them, and is tender of their Lives and Properties, is so far from Destroying the Innocent, that he is unwilling to Condemn and Execute the Guilty, and would not do it, but that those cannot be safe, unless these be cut off, had rather save one Subject than Destroy a Thousand Enemies, and thinks himself Rich enough, if his Loyal Subjects be so, and instead, of Impoverishing them by needless Wars, encourages Trade, and Studies to keep them in Peace and Plenty.

'Tis as impossible for wise and good People not to Love such a Prince, as it is for them to hate themselves, or not to be concern'd for their own Interest. They look upon him as their chief Patron and Benefactor upon Earth, and the Sun it self is not dearer to them, than he is; They Love and hate as he doth, they that are

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his Friends they account theirs, and those that are his Enemies, they abhor as if they were their own. They have the highest esteem and Admiration for him in their Hearts, which they express in their words, and Actions: In their words by filling all Places with his Praises, and speaking nothing but Panegyricks and Encomiums of him: In their Actions by treating him with the greatest reverence and respect, receiving him in Triumph, and with all possible expressions of Joy, wherever he comes, as if some Glorious Angel was descended from the Heavenly Regions, and come to Bless them with his presence: By obeying his Laws, and observing all his Royal Injunctions, doing every thing he Commands with a ready, cheerful, and willing Mind. Such a Prince, as he is admir'd and belov'd in his Life, so he is truly Lamented at his Death, and his Subjects pay their Tributary Tears at his Royal Sepulchre, weep over him, and say as *Elisha* did at the departure of *Elijah*, *my Father, my Father, the Chariot of Israel, and Horsemen thereof*: And though he be gone to take possession of a better Kingdom, and to receive a brighter Crown, yet amongst all his Glories above, they cannot forget to Praise and Honour him upon Earth; not only think, but call him Blessed, raise the fairest Monuments to his Memory, inscribe his Royal Vertues, and Glorious Actions in never Dying Records, that his Fame and Renown descend to after Ages, and all Generations may admire and call him Blessed. So that the providing or taking care for the welfare of his People,

People is a considerable part of the Princes happiness.

Let us enquire then, if this be not also lost by the Dukes being a Papist, if the Crown should descend to him.

If he come to be King, and be of the Romish Religion, he must set up that, or not: if he do it not, he Frustrates their Expectation, disobliges that Party, and thereby incurs their Rage and Displeasure, which must needs be very Fierce and Cruel, because ever since Queen Mary left the World, it hath been their study and endeavour to get a Catholick into the Throne.

This hath cost them so much Labour, put them upon so many Conspiracies, for this so many of their Zealots have been Executed, found a worse Purgatory here, than that they talk so much of after this Life: And having gain'd their point, as they thought, got a King of their Religion, for him to be content with Mass in his own Chappel, and let his People openly profess and enjoy the Reformed Religion, which they call Heresy, and hate worse than they do the Devil! What an unpardonable Injury, Affront, and Disappointment is this? This is to rouse and irritate the Angry Lyons, to deny the hungry Wolfes the Prey, they have been so long hunting after? his Holiness, though he be Indulgent enough to other Sinners, and sells them Pardons at as Cheap and Reasonable Rates, as they can well desire, hath no Mercy in store for such a Transgressor: Sons will sooner pardon those that Kill their Fathers, Fathers

thers those that Murder their Innocent Children, & enraged Husbands them that Ravish their beloved Wives, than he will forgive such a crime as this: A crime that robs him of his so much admired Sovereignty, of his dear, and most desired Profit, of his first Fruits, Tenth, Peter-pence, Fees for Investing Bishops, Indulgence Money, and all his other ways of getting Wealth, by which (as our Histories relate) he drain'd a mighty Treasure out of this Kingdom, and which if the Prince deny him, his Reign will be short, and his days few, for if the Traiterous Priests and Jesuits that are about him, do not Poyson or Stab him before their great Master hath declared him Unprofitable, & Consequently unworthy of the Royal Throne, to be sure he (having first for Fashion sake Admonished and Exhorted him to be Zealous of, and mind the good of the Catholick Cause) will proceed to Sentence, Declare him Un-capable of, & fain from all Dominion and Rule, & then every one that Kills him, *thinks he doth God the most acceptable Service*, & such as Merits from him the biggest reward, and the brightest Crown, provided in the Regions above, for his most faithful Servants.

So that a Popish King cannot be safe unless he sets up that Religion, he must be a Zealous Assertor, Promoter, and Maintainer of it; or else his own Party will depose and lay his Honour in the Dust: down he must come, (unless a special Providence Guard him) descend into his Grave by a violent and untimely Fate, if he do not Imploy all his Power and skill to advance, or set up that, if he refuse to do this, he

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Ruins and undoes himself; for being of that Religion he must have some of its Priests to perform the Sacred Offices of it, which gives them access to his Person, and consequently Opportunity to Dispatch him.

And therefore if his Royal Highness be a Papist, and as such, comes to the Crown, by refusing to set up that Religion, he will expose himself to the fiercest Rage of that party, and Consequently to the greatest Danger, though that rage of theirs will be most unreasonable because unprofitable to them, all the rest of the Royal Family being known and professed *Protestants*, so that no advantage can accrue to them by his Deposition or Death. Besides 'tis very probable that he may have no fear or Apprehension at all of it, for if he be a Convert to that Church, to be sure he hath a good Opinion of it, and thinks them honest Men, or else he would never have joyn'd himself to them, and being so Perswaded, how can he apprehend any danger from them, if he do not set up that Religion, which he agrees with them in their Profession of? He may think he doth the Romish Faith Honour enough by the open owning of it, and sufficient Service, as his Example is a great allurements to invite others to imbrace it, and he may Consider that to set it up by force will produce such Cruelty, and Oppressions, let in so many Miseries, that his Clemency and Goodness may oblige him to abhor the thoughts of doing it: If it be said that every Man desires to Propagate and Advance his own Religion, and therefore the Duke if he be King will have the same desire

fire to Promote his, I grant it, but then I say every Man will not make use of unjust and cruel Methods for that purpose, but endeavour to win Men to it by Arguments and Perswasions, he will do the Religion he is of all the Right and Service he can, without wronging others, he will by fair and lawful ways gain all the Converts he can to it, but he will not make Sacrifices of those that refuse it, and no Man knows but this may be the Dukes Resolution, if he come to be King, and be a *Papist*. To say he will think that God requires him to set it up, and that he cannot be Saved unless he do it, is to say that he will think God requires him to make three Kingdoms Miserable, to commit many Oppressions, Cruelties and Murders, and that such Horrid things as these (which God forbids and declares to be Damnable) are necessary to his Salvation, which are most Unreasonable for any man, that is truly Religious, to think. If the Duke think the *Roman* to be the true Religion, he will think God requires him to beleive and profess it, and to Endeavour by all Lawful means to Convert his People to it, but if those do not Prevail, he must in reason think himself Obliged no farther, because the using cruel, and unlawful means, to that Purpose, is Apparently Destructive of that Salvation, which he designs to obtain by Imbracing that Religion. And being assured God will not be Displeased with him, if he do not set it up, because it cannot be done, without doing those things, against which his Wrath is revealed from
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Heaven, he may either Apprehend no danger from the Professors of it, or if he do, despise it relying upon the Divine Protection, which his Consulting the safety and welfare of the People is a great Endearment of: For if he set up the Romish Religion, the People must either become its Profelytes, or not: If they do, they lose Heaven: If they do not, they are sure to be Miserable upon Earth.

For Men to profess known Errours, and to Practise Gross and known Sins, must needs be Damnable, but all Protestants know and are Convinced in their Consciences that the Romish Church is guilty of many and great Errours, Sins, and Impietys: Errours in Doctrine, Impieties, (Hainous Impieties) in Worship, such are the Images they make of God, and the Divine Honour or Worship they give unto them, as also their Praying to Saints, Adoring their Images and Reliques, and the Elements in the Eucharist, with divers other Abominations which they are Guilty of, and therefore for them, that are convinced of the Sinfulness of these things, to turn to that Church must needs be to shut themselves out of the Kingdome of Heaven.

But if that be too great a good to be so parted with, then to secure it, they must resolve to undergo all the Miseries, and Cruelties, and Sadthings which, upon their refusing the Romish Religion, will break in upon them, for either they must fly from the Storm, become voluntary Exiles, leave their Native Country, their dearest Friends and Enjoyments,

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go seek their safety, and some of them, their Maintainance in other Nations: which is a great and sad Calamity, or else stay and be Executed as Hereticks at home: And seeing these will be the Lamentable consequences of his setting up the Romish Religion, I desire those that are so forward to believe he will do it, to consider what advantages can accrue to his Royal Highness by such violent and Tragical actions? can it be any Pleasure to him to hear the Groans of Dying Men, or to see the Funeral Piles of them that are Sacrific'd for the Faith of Christ, Blaze before him. Or can it be for his safety to destroy many of his best and most Loyal Subjects, and by the Terror and Severity of their Sufferings to force others to turn Papists? this is to drive them from a Loyal to a Trayterous Church, and how can he expect they should be true to him, whom he Compells to be Unfaithful to their God? Is it for his Honour to Execute the Bloody and Inhumane Sentences of *Rome* upon his good Subjects, to be the Popes Instrument to commit what Cruelties he pleaseth in these our *Brittish Islands*. Is not Murder an Hainous Sin? and will not Innocent Blood, the Blood of those, that will be Slain (if Popery be set up) for professing the true Faith and Holy Religion of Christ, cry aloud to the Righteous God for Vengeance, and Provoke him to punish him here with a short Reign, with the Terrours of a guilty Conscience, with one Plague and Judgment after another, till he pass from Hence to the other World,

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World, and instead of the Glorious Crown the Pope, and his Priests, flatterd him with the hopes of, he find an Horrid and Intolerable Ruin:

Search all Histories, Examine all the Annals of the World, and you will find that of the Philosopher to be a great truth, *That Tyrants seldom live to be Old*, the Saints pray, their Blood and Sufferings cry to Heaven against them, and God Abhors, and the Earth Groans under the burthen of their Crimes, and Hell is ready for them. How then can it be for the Dukes Honour or Felicity to be one of them, to live (and that but for a little time) Abhor'd by God, dreaded and forsaken by all good Men, to die Unpityed and Unlamented, to depart this World not with the Tears and Praises, but with the Joy and Thanksgivings of his Subjects, that by his Death they are deliver'd from the Miseries and Oppressions his Reign was attended with, to have the story of his Life (there being some that delight to Record the Actions of Princes) transmitted to future Ages, stain'd with so many Executions, Cruelties, and Oppressions, which his setting up the Romish Religion will occasion, and to be remembred no otherwise when he is Dead and gone, than Plagues, and Wars, and the most dreadful Calamities are, that is, with Horror and Amazement.

How unreasonable is it then to believe his Royal Highness (if he come to the Crown) will thus ruin and undo himself for no Reason or Inducement at all : Common Prudence will
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not suffer him to be so much his own Enemy. And therefore they that upon idle Rumours or meer Suspicions entertain such unbecoming thoughts of him, do great Injury to, and extremely wrong, so brave a Prince, who is confessed by his very Enemies to be Highly just and hath ventured his Life in defence of his Country, and therefore in reason and justice ought neither to be accounted, nor treated as its Enemy, that hath any intention to Ruin, if it be the will of Heaven that he Reign over it.

'Tis certain then, that it is not for the Duke's Interest in this World to turn Papist, and therefore if he be so, that cannot be the Reason of it.

Subject 4.

The only Motive therefore he could have to persuade him to such a change must be his Happiness and Salvation in that which is to come. This indeed is the great End, the Highest reason any Person can propose to himself in the Choyce of his Religion, that it be such as will conduct him safely to Eternal Happiness.

Now if I can prove that there is no danger of missing this in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and that there is great and apparent Hazard of losing it in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, then this can be no Reason for, nor Inducement to such a change, it being most Absurd and Imprudent to Exchange a safe for a dangerous Church, a Church wherein there is a certainty, for one wherein there is at most but a bare possibility of Salvation.

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The enquiry then must be, if the case be not thus between ours, and the Church of Rome, whether in that there be not a Certainty, in this at most but a meer Possibility of Salvation.

God the Supream Lord of Men, as he made them to Serve and Glorify him here, and to enjoy or live with him in Immortal Glory and Happiness hereafter, so it must needs belong to him alone to appoint what Service they shall Perform to him, to declare how, and in what instances he will be Honour'd and Glorifi'd by them, to prescribe measures of Obedience, and the terms or conditions upon which he will admit them to the Participation of that Supream and Sovereign Happiness; for being the greatest good that God can give, or they desire, 'tis most unreasonable to believe it Inconditional, promised absolutely either to all, or a select part of Mankind, so that they shall be sure to have it, though they do nothing towards the Obtaining of it. And if it be proposed upon certain Terms or Conditions, as it evidently is, God alone must determine and propose these; determine them, because that transcendent Felicity being his Kind and Bountifull offer, none hath any Right but he to appoint the things that must be done by Men for the acquiring of it: Propose them, because 'till he hath Revealed them, none can know what they are. To leave Mankind to their own Fancies and Conjectures in a matter of such Moment and Concern (to offer them Eternal Happiness, and not tell them how to

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Obtain it) would have been a disparagement to the Divine Goodness, because it would have been to Mock and Delude them with the discovery of a Treasure more precious then all the World, which they knew not how to possess themselves of, & if they guess'd, at the way of doing of it, it would be great odds but they would mistake and guess wrong, leave the true Pathes or means leading to so lovely and desireable a good; and follow false ones, as we see all the Heathen World did in that prime part of Religion, the Worship of God. So that one of these two things must necessarily follow, either that God had no Purpose or Intention to save or make Mankind Eternally Happy, or if that be Inconsistent with his Mercy, and the Benignity of his Nature, that he did reveal or declare not only that he would do it, but also upon what Terms or Conditions he would be pleased to do it: which Revelation of his Royal Pleasure in both the parts of it, being of the greatest Moment or Concern both that Men might know and admire the Transcendent kindness of the Gracious Author of their being towards them, and be sufficiently Instructed how to Express or Declare their Gratitude for it, in fit and acceptable returns of Obedience and Duty to him, ought in Reason to be kept as the most precious Treasure, and carefully preserv'd from all Change and Injury, that it might descend safe and Intire to all Ages and Generations of Men, and so afford them full and Perfect Instruction, what they must believe and do, how they must

must live or behave themselves in this, that they may obtain the Eternal Felicity of the other World.

To transmit or hand down this Revelation from Age to Age, from Generation to Generation, through all Succeeding time, from the first Publishing of it to the end of the World, by Oral Tradition, or word of Mouth, was not possible without continual Miracles, both to Preserve it intire in the Minds and Memories of the Relators, and to assure those that receiv'd it from them, that they had neither by fraud, nor forgetfulness Corrupted or changed it any way, added nothing to it, nor kept back any part of it: and seeing this might be secured another way by his common Providence, why should God multiply Miracles continually to no purpose; for without these such a Treasure could not be safely committed to such a way of Conveyance, Oral Tradition being a very hazardous and uncertain way of delivering things to others, especially at any great distance of time, and therefore the greater Moment the things are of, the more dangerous is it to trust them to such a Treacherous & Precarious way of Communicating them. We see how strangely the Ancient History of the World, and the greatest Transactions of it, whilst they were thus Transmitted were Depraved and Corrupted, so intermix'd with Lies and Fables, as they pass'd down the Channel of Time and Ages, that the truth of things was either quite lost, or very difficultly to be found out, being cover'd, or

in a manner Buried under such an heap of Dirt and Rubbish, that the Wisest and most Sagacious minds, after all their care and endeavours to search it out, were very doubtful, and could not come to a full Determination what to believe, or what to reject: some things they saw had an appearance of Truth, but then the Fables mixt therewith, disgrac'd, and render'd them so Suspicious, that they knew not what to think of them.

And therefore the All-wise and most Merciful God, as he was pleas'd to offer Immortal Happiness to Mankind, and to tell them upon what terms or conditions he would admit them to, and bless them with it, so he took care to have these most weighty things Conveyed down to all Ages and Generations of Men in the safest way, requiring those he imploy'd to deliver his Laws to Mankind, to commit them to Writing, nay delivering some of them, the Ten Commandments (that is) to *Moses* Inscribed or Written upon two Tables of Stone: which way of Transmitting them is most durable or lasting, and therefore the safest; and they that say the contrary, Reproach & Disparage the Wisdom of God, because he thought fit thus to Convey them to us: and when these Writings were compleated by the Addition of the New Testament to the Old, nothing could be wanting to instruct Mankind in all the parts of their Duty, and to tell them all the terms or Conditions of their Eternall Happiness and Salvation.

Exodus
32.16.

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To say they are imperfect, and do not give Men sufficient Direction for the attaining this great end, is to Blaspheme the Glorious Author of them, to Arraign his Wisdom, to revile his Goodness, and to contradict these Sacred Writings, which call upon us to search and study them, and invite us to perform the Duties they require of us, with the offer of Salvation if we do it, and the Denunciation of Damnation if we refuse to do it : Now if all those things united or conjoyned cannot bring the observers of them to the Salvation they promise, then the Scriptures do not say true, and therefore God is not the Author of them.

This the Church of *Rome* doth not, dares not say, but owns the Truth of all they say, and confesses them to come from God, only it says they are insufficient and obscure, that is, do not speak enough, tell those that consult them, all things necessary to Salvation, nor speak so plainly, and intelligibly as to be understood without an infallible Interpreter to declare the true, and full Sense or Meaning of them.

The first cannot be, because if the Scriptures say, *do these things and thou shalt live*, be Eternally happy, and Blessed ; As for Instance, believe in Christ, Repent of thy Sins, keep the Commandments of God, and tell us what they are, as it is apparent they do, and promise Salvation to them that so believe, Repent, and keep the Commandments of God, then they speak fully to the purpose, tell him or them that Read them, enough to save them, if they perform it, and consequently must be sufficient,

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and then to add I know not what unwritten Verities (as they are called) as Supplements to them, is both a Wicked and a Vain thing ; 'tis Wicked both as it invades Gods Authority, will not let him prescribe & appoint all the Terms or Conditions upon which he will give Eternal Life and Glory to his Church and People : Wicked also as it disgraces his Laws, and charges them with defects they are not Guilty of. 'Tis vain too, and altogether needless, like Lighting up a Torch or a Candle, when the Sun Shines in all his Glory, for they that cannot see, or find the way to Heaven by the Glorious Light, or Direction of the Holy Scripture, will never do it by the help of the dark Lantern of Oral Tradition : this is apter to seduce, or draw those that follow it out of the Right way, than to guide them into it : That cannot deceive any, because it gives them a full and perfect Description of it, tells them, *This is the way, walk ye in it.*

And as they speak fully to this great point, give an exact and perfect Answer to every one that asks them that Important Question, *What shall I do that I may have Eternal Life?* So they speak plainly and intelligibly to it, and every Reader may, if he brings with him an humble and Teachable Mind, Learn and understand all his Duty, his Duty as the Apostle divides it, to God, his Neighbour and himself : to God in Acts of Piety, to his Neighbour in Acts of Justice and Charity, to himself in Acts of Temperance or Sobriety.

'Tis very Foolish, as well as Sinful, for Men

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to cry out of the Obscurity or Darknes of the Scriptures, only to serve a Worldly Interest by it, when those parts of them that describe our Duty, are said to be a Light, *a Light unto our Pathes, and a Lantern to our Feet*, those must needs be Blind that cannot see the Light, because it is the Nature or Property of it to be Visible. 'Tis true indeed there are degrees of Light, one Light being greater and more Radiant than another : thus the Law was a Light, but yet weak and dimm in Compare with the Gospel, which is so great and Illustrious a Light, that the Apostle saith, *If it be hid, it is hid to them that Perish*, that are so in Love with their Sins as to resolve to persist though they Perish in them, and therefore shut their Eyes against the Gospel, which comes as a Light to shew them their Errour.

They that say the Scriptures are Obscure, and unintelligible, must say that either God could not, or would not declare his Mind, so as to be understood by Men : If they say the first, they degrade him, because if he could not do it, he hath not the Wisdom or Intelligence of a Man, and therefore cannot be God, every Man of Common Sense, that is able to speak, being also able to speak his Mind, so as to be understood. If they say the other, they Vilifie and Disgrace him, for if he would not speak so that Men might understand him, then it is meer mockery to offer them Eternal Happiness upon such Conditions as they do not, cannot understand, and hateful Cruelty to threaten them with Everlasting and Intolerable Punishment,

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for Transgressing such Laws, and omitting such Duties as are above their apprehension.

To say as the Papists do, that God hath took care to remedy this Obscurity of the Scriptures by appointing an-Infallible Guide or Interpreter to explicate or unriddle the meaning of them, and that he cannot Err in the doing of it, is to say that which all the World can never Prove: for how doth it appear that God hath Constituted or Commission'd him to be the Sole Expounder of Scripture, more than any other Bishop, or Doctor of the Church? Doth not our Lord say to all the Apostles, nay to the seventy Disciples, *He that heareth you, heareth me?* Did not he speak to them all, when he said, *Go ye into all the World and Preach the Gospel to every Creature?* How then came his Holyness to have the Monopoly, or Sole power of Interpreting Scripture? Did it descend to him from St. Peter? that cannot be, because he never claim'd, never pretended to it, never had it Solely himself, and the Successor cannot without Usurpation challenge a greater Power nor plead a larger Commission than he had whom he pretends to Succeed. 'Tis certain that all the Apostles received an equal Authority, and the same Commission from Christ, and therefore all Bishops now, being the undoubted Successors of the Apostles, have an equal Power and Right to Interpret Scripture: and there is by Divine Right no difference at all between them; what is, is either by Humane Constitution, or by Usurpation and Incroachment.

And

And if he cannot shew a Patent from God to prove him to be the only Authoritative Interpreter of his Laws, how will he make good the other proud Word which he prefixes before it, That he is the only and Infallible Expounder of Scripture : He knows very well that a great, and the wisest part of the World deny his Infallibility, and Laugh at him for pretending to it.

How then will he convince them that he hath it? by Reason? no, no! that gives no Testimony to such a gross and palpable Absurdity, Reason says to be a Man, and to be Exempt from all Possibility of Errour, are Inconsistent. Will he prove it by Scripture? some Texts are brought from thence for fashion sake to colour the business, as those that contain the promise of our Lord to his Apostles, *to send them the Holy Ghost to guide or St. John lead them into all Truth* : but this promise either 16. 13. proves too little, or too much to do the feat : for either it is a Peculiar promise belonging to the Apostles only, who needed an Extraordinary Assistance from Christ, that they might Transmit his Doctrine full and intire to Succeeding Ages, and then was Personal and Expired with them, and so doth not concern his Holyness, for though the Holy Ghost guided them into all Truth, yet he, either not having the Holy Ghost, or Refusing to follow his guidances, may run into all Errour.

Or if it was not a Personal or Peculiar promise belonging to the Apostles only, but Equally to their Successors, then it proves more
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than he would have it, That all the Bishops in the World are Infallible ; for the promise was made, not to St. Peter only, but to all the Apostles, and therefore what nonsense, and Ridiculous Partiality is it to Restrain a general promise made to the whole Colledg of Apostles, to the Successors of one of them ; for if they that Succeed St. Peter be Fully and Perfectly lead into all Truth, then the Successors of all the Apostles are so, and consequently all the Bishops in the World are Infallible, and then his Holiness will have but a bad Market for his Expositions of Scripture ; for few People will be at the trouble to go to Rome for them, because they may have them from their own Bishops. Well, but doth not our Lord say to St. Peter ; *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will Build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not Prevail against it.* These are certainly the Words of Christ, but they confer no peculiar Priviledg or Prerogative upon St. Peter, nothing but what was equally given to all the Apostles, for the Rock Signifies either his Confession, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God*, which is the Rock, the great and Fundamental Article of the Christian Faith, upon which the Church is Built : or if it concern his Person, that he should be an Excellent Instrument (as the other Apostles were, and therefore are also called Foundation Stones) to bring in Converts and Disciples unto Christ, and to raise or Build him up a Church in the World, which the Gates of Hell, all the Power and

St. Mat.
16. 18.

Vers 16.

and Policy of the Devil should never be able Totally to ruin or destroy.

These Words then speak nothing for the pretended Infallibility. And indeed the greatest Champions for it, are so far from thinking it fully proved in Scripture, that they are not agreed about it. To fix it in the Popes Person they dare not, because the many and gross Errours of his Life, would confute and shame them, and therefore as a Man they confess he can, and may, and doth Err: To ascribe it to his Chair, either to his Office or Dignity as Bishop, or to him as Bishop of *Rome*, and Successor to *St. Peter* in that Patriarchal See, is silly, for if he could Err before, he can do so still, because his being made Bishop doth not change his Nature, but his Office: and being the same Man, why may he not be the same fallible or erring Man he was before? The place he is Bishop of can make no Difference in the case, because no reason can be given why the Bishop of *Rome* should be more Exempt from Errour, than the Bishop of *Munster*.

To place the Infallibility in the Pope and a general Council is as unreasonable, because if they can Err apart, they may united, and they confess, that a general Council may Err, if it be not Confirmed by the Pope, and tis plain they think the Pope without it may Err, or else tis idle to add a general Council to him, but the uniting or putting two Erring parties together cannot make them Infallible: To say that a General Council Confirm'd by the Pope,

Arch-Bi-
shop Laud
against
Fisher pa.
274.

Pa. 269.

Pope cannot Err, is unanswerably confuted by this argument of a great and excellent person :
The Pope never Confirms, a Council till it be finish'd, when it is finish'd, before the Popes Confirmation be put to it, either it hath Erred, or not Erred, if it hath Erred he ought not to confirm it, or if he do, it is a voyd Act, because no power can make Errour or falsehood to be Truth: if it hath not Erred, then it was True before he Confirmed it, and so his Confirmation signifies nothing. And not withstanding all the stir they make about the Popes Infallibility, they do not believe it themselves, for the School-Men and Writers of Controversies, as that Author observes, put the case, whether the Pope coming to be an Heretick may not be Deposed, and the Common Law (as he adds) says expressely, That he may be Deposed for Heresie: now if he can fall into Heresie, and may be Deposed for it, then he cannot be Infalible: And as the Scriptures give no testimony of it, so neither reason, nor any thing else can prove his Holiness to be Infalible, because he is not, and there is no need that either he or any other Bishop should be so, because God hath fully and clearly propounded to us in the Scriptures all things necessary to Salvation, as I have already Prov'd, and for that part of them that is obscure, we are certain we may be Saved, without the knowledg of it, otherwise the Merciful God that loves us, and desires our Salvation, would have made it plain to us.

Now

Now, to bring this Discourse home to the great Point in hand, if Eternal Happiness and Salvation be the kind offer or Proposal of God, and this cannot be had but upon certain Terms or Conditions, which must be determin'd and reveal'd by him: determin'd because that is his Right, and none but he hath Authority to do it: reveal'd, because unless he declare upon what Terms he will save them, Mankind can never know them, nor consequently obtain the propos'd happiness; and those Terms or Conditions be fully and intirely, plainly and intelligibly deliver'd in the Scriptures, then that, and none but that, is the true Church (in which Salvation may certainly be had) that adheres or cleaves to the Scriptures, and follows them as the great and only Rule of Faith and Manners, of all things (that is) necessary to Salvation. This is the only sure Mark of the true Church that may be rely'd upon, without this all other Signs are false Fires and deceitful Lights that mislead their unwary followers, but he that chuses his Church by its Profession of the Christian Faith and Doctrine contained in the Scriptures, is safe, and in such a Society where nothing is wanting to Salvation: but if he leaves that he may wander up and down the World in vain, seeking Rest but finding none.

All then that will be necessary to make good my Assertion in both the parts of it, that there is a certainty of Salvation in the Church of *England*, and at most but a Possibility of it in the Church of *Rome*, is briefly to shew the agree-
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ment of ours, and the Repugnancy of theirs to the Scriptures.

That Church which affirms that the Holy Scriptures Comprehend all things necessary to Salvation, and that nothing but what is contained in them, is to be press'd or requir'd as such, and receives them as its sole or intire Rule, agrees fully and perfectly with them, but our Church affirms those, and doth this, therefore it adheres, or keeps close to the Scriptures :

Article the
6.

Holy Scripture (it saith) containeth all things necessary to Salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation.

Homily
the 1.

Unto a Christian (it declares) there can be nothing either more necessary, or profitable than the knowledg of Holy Scripture, forasmuch as in it is contained Gods true word, setting forth his Glory, and also Mans Duty ; and there is no Truth, nor Doctrine necessary for our Justification, and Everlasting Salvation, but what is (or may be) drawn out of that Fountain and Well of Truth. In Holy Scripture is fully contained, what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to Love, and what to look for at Gods hands at length.

This is as full a Declaration of the perfection & sufficiency of the Scriptures as can be made ; and that our Church receives them as the sole or intire Rule of Faith, is so Evident that the Church of Rome confesseth it, by making it an Accusation or Objection against it (though this
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be to upbraid it with that which is its Glory, I mean its strict adherence to the Scriptures) and if they did not confess it, it might be unanswerably proved by comparing the Doctrine of our Church with those Sacred Writings, which whosoever doth, will find a most perfect Union, or agreement between them, that it observes, and follows, and adheres to them in all things, as if the same good Spirit that Inspir'd the Holy Prophets and Apostles to Pen them, did in a more than ordinary manner guide and direct our Reformers to the same Faith or Sum of things to be believed, the same Rule of Life, or Paths of Piety and Holiness, the same Object and way of Worship, the same Sacraments, and all other things which they propound to Mankind either as the Terms and Conditions upon which God will save them, or as helps and means to inable them to perform those Conditions : *So that no Church (as a Learned and excellent Person speaks) doth afford more Plentifully the means of Grace, nor more abound with all helps and advantages of Piety , than this of ours.* The word of God is diligently Preach'd amongst us, the Sacraments of Christ Reverently Administred, Abuses in both are removed, the two Extremes of Religion, Superstition and Prophaneness are avoided. The Ignorant are Instructed, the Disorderly admonish'd, Comforts are applied to the Afflicted, Terrours to the Impenitent, Censures and Punishments to the Obstinate. In our Liturgy, Policy, and Ceremonies, in the Government of our Prelates, in the Diligence of In-

Dr. Potter
Answer to
Charity
mistaken.
pa. 13.
Page 14.

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Inferiour Pastours, in the whole Face of our Doctrine and Discipline, we have a most near and fair Resemblance of Reverend Antiquity : All tending to the gaining of Souls to Christ, and to guide them in the way of Peace.

As great Assurance then as any Christian hath that the Scriptures are true, so full and absolute a certainty is there of Salvation in our Church ; because it teaches and requires all those things, and no other, that the Scriptures teach and require as necessary to Salvation, and to the Performers of which, they promise Eternal Life and Happiness ; and therefore if the Scriptures say true (as all Christians acknowledg they do) there can be no doubt or question at all of being saved in the Church of *England*, unless Men will either not believe and Live as it teacheth and Commands them, or if they do it, will not persevere or continue in so believing and Living to the end of their Lives.

And therefore that none who are Members of this most Holy and Excellent Church, may deprive themselves of so great a good, as that Immortal Happiness is, by their Evil and Unfuitable Living, I shall conclude this Discourse with that admirable Exhortation, which their Mother the Church gives them to obey or keep the Commandments of God their Father, which is this,

Homily of *Wherefore as ye have any Zeal to the Right and*
 Good *Pure Honouring of God, as you have any Regard to*
 Works *your own Souls, and to the Life that is to come,*
 Part. 3. *which is both without Pain, and without End, ap-*
 p. 35. *ply your selves chiefly above all things to Read, and*
Hear

hear Gods word, mark diligently therein what his Will is you should do, and with all your endeavour apply your selves to follow the same. First, you must have an assured Faith in God, and give your selves wholly unto him, Love him in Prosperity and Adversity, and dread to offend him evermore : Then for his Sake Love all Men, Friends and Foes, because they be his Creation, and Image, and Redeemed, as you are : Cast in your Minds how you may do good unto all Men unto your Powers, and hurt no Man ; Obey all your Superiours and Governours, Serve your Masters Faithfully and Diligently, as well in their absence, as in their presence, not for dread of Punishment only, but for Conscience Sake, knowing that you are bound so to do by Gods Commandments : Disobey not your Fathers and Mothers, but honour them, help them, and please them to your Power : Oppress not, Kill not, Beat not, neither Slander, nor Hate any Man, but Love all Men, speak well of all Men, help and Succour every Man as you may, yea even your Enemies, that hate you, that speak Evil of you, and that do hurt you : Take no Mans Goods, nor Covet your Neighbours Goods wrongfully, but content your selves with that which ye get truly, and also bestow your own Goods Charitably, as Need and Case requireth : Fly all Idolatry, Witchcraft, and Perjury, Commit no Adultery, Fornication, or other Unchastness in Will nor Deed : And Travelling continually (during this Life) thus in keeping the Commandments of God (wherein standeth the Right Trade and Pathway unto Heaven) you shall not fail, as Christ hath promised, to come to that

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Blessed and Everlasting Life, where you shall Live in Glory and Joy with God for ever.

'Tis as impossible as any thing can be, that they who do these things, and continue in them to the end of their Lives, should miss of Eternal Glory and Happiness : To say that such a Faith, such Obedience, such a Life (as our Church propounds and Teacheth) persisted in till they pass out of this World, cannot (through the Merits of Christ) Save Men, is to Damn the Blessed Apostles, and all the Primitive Saints and Martyrs, who, if they went to Heaven at all, went thither by believing and Living according to the Scriptures, and call upon us to follow their Faith, their pure or unspotted Lives, considering the end of their Conversation, the Glories in which they shine in the Blessed mansions above : This is the Rock upon which we of the Church of *England* Build our hopes of a Crown of Glory : this is a Guide that cannot deceive, but will lead us safely to the Blessed place we aspire after : they that walk by this Rule (the Rule of the Holy Scripture) are in a sure way to Salvation, and if they persevere, cannot miss of it.

But if we remove our Thoughts now to the Church of *Rome*, it will be Evident that there is at-most but a Possibility of Salvation in the Communion of it ; because of its disagreement with, and repugnancy to the Holy Scriptures.

So far is this Church from doing them the Right and the Honour as to confess, that they comprehend all things necessary to Salvation, that it affirms the contrary, that they do it not with-

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without the help of *Traditions*, which they of that Communion receive and Honour with an equal Devotion and Reverence: So saith the Council of Trent expressely, *Sacro sancta oecumenica & generalis Tridentina Synodus in spiritu sancto Legitimè congregata, &c.* This Holy Oecumenical and general Council of Trent, being Lawfully called together in the Holy Ghost, having this ever before their Eyes, that all Errours being destroyed, or taken away, the very purity of the Gospel might be preserved in the Church, which being promised before by the Prophets in the Holy Scriptures; our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, with his own Mouth first publish'd, and afterwards Comanded it to be Preach'd to every Creature by his Apostles, as the Fountain of all saving Truth, and Discipline, or Instruction of manners; and knowing this Discipline and Truth to be contained in the written Books, and in Traditions not written, which being received by the Apostles from Christs own Mouth, or by the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost prompting them to it, as it were handed down are come to us: This Council following the Examples of the Orthodox Fathers, doth with equal Devotion and Reverence receive and honour, all the Books of the Old and New Testament, because the same God is the Author of them both, and the Traditions themselves belonging both to Faith and Manners, as deliver'd by Christ, by word of mouth, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and kept by continual Succession in the Catholick Church.

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the 4th.
page 19:

So that their Rule of Faith consists of two distinct parts, the Scriptures and Traditions, the word of God written, and the word of God

not written, but transmitted by word of Mouth, from Age to Age, from Generation to Generation. Now though it be certain that the word of God be equally true, and equally obligatory to all Persons, whether it be written or not written, which way soever it be propounded or convey'd to them, yet how shall it appear or be proved that what they call the Unwritten word of God, is really so, & not a wicked cheat & imposture? They say it is his word, we say it is not, the Primitive Church saith nothing at all of it, but asserts and maintains the sufficiency or fullness of the Scriptures, or written word of God, that is, that it contains all things necessary to be believed and done to the obtaining Eternal Life and Happiness, as is fully proved by many Protestant Writers; And when the Ancient and Orthodox Fathers speak of Traditions, and call upon any to observe and obey them, they either mean by those Traditions, the Doctrine of Christ deliver'd to the Christian Church in the Writings of the Apostles, or the Ordinances made, either by the Apostles themselves, or the Bishops that succeeded them in their Apostolical Office, for the decent and orderly performance of Gods Worship.

The first is indeed the Word of God, but then it is his written word; the other are not the word of God at all, but humane Constitutions, and no farther Obligatory, than they are agreeable to the General Rules the Scriptures give for Conducting the Circumstances of Religion, the Church having Power (as Ours truly affirms) to Decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Au-

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thority in Controversies of Faith, though it be not Lawful for the Church to Ordain any thing that is contrary to Gods word written. This is all the Ancient Fathers mean by Traditions, when they speak of, or require the Observation of them, but they make no such Distinction as this of the written and unwritten word of God, neither do they say, that the first is imperfect, or doth not sufficiently instruct Mankind to Salvation, unless it be supply'd with the other. This is a Blasphemy which the Apostate Church only is guilty of, but was never heard of in the Primitive times : Besides, the Holy Scriptures, or written word of God, (as I remarked before) call upon us to search, and study, and meditate in them, nay to believe and obey, or Live according to them, and Promise Eternal Happiness and Salvation to all that do these things : but they make no mention of the word of God not written, do not Command any to enquire, or search after, or trouble their Heads about any such thing as the Unwritten word of God : 'Tis true indeed St. Paul praises the Obedient Members of the Church of Corinth, that kept the Traditions or Ordinances which he deliver'd to them ; But these were no part of the word of God either written or not written, but things in their own nature Indifferent ; That the Men should Pray in publick with their Heads uncover'd, and the Women with their Heads cover'd.

1 Cor. ii. 2.

Verses 4th, and 5th.

He gives this charge also to Timothy, *hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in Faith and Love which is in Christ Jesus :*

2 Tim. i. 13.

St. John
16. 12.

Bishop
Davenant
de iudice
& norma
fidei page
18.

Which form of sound words was either the Creed, which the Apostles agreed upon as a summary of the Chief things, that were to be believed, and profess'd by all Christians; or else the whole Doctrine of Christ containing all things to be done, as well as believed, to Salvation; which if not then, were before the Apostles left the World intirely written for the Instruction of all, that should Imbrace the Christian Religion. But doth not Christ tell his Apostles, *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now*: By which, saith the Church of Rome, it appears, That Christ spoke many things that were not written, and it is not credible, that the Apostles would not deliver these by word of mouth to the Church: To which a Reverend Bishop of ours gives this Satisfactory Answer, that Christ doth not say, *Multa habeo, quæ non potestis in posterum scribere*, I have many things to say unto you, which you cannot hereafter write, but which you cannot now bear, *Postea autem Spiritu sancto illuminati, & portare ea potuerunt, & prædicare mundo, ac demum scriptis toti Ecclesie Commendare*, but afterwards being inlightned by the Holy Ghost, they could both bear them themselves, and Preach them to the World, and at last in their writings Commend and Transmit them to the whole Church: But let us grant (saith he) that these things were such as are not written, yet who is so impudent and rash, as to dare so specify, or assign what those things were? This is such Transcendent Presumption, that none but the Church of Rome dares venture on, which

which takes the boldness to Father all her Dreams, Fables, and Errours upon God, calling them his Traditional or Unwritten word. As for those words of St. John, which they insist so much upon, *There are also many other things, which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the World it self could not contain the Books that should be written* : These neither prove the necessity, nor Authority of their Traditional or Unwritten word of God, *Fatemur enim multa esse quæ fecit Jesus, quæ tamen ab Evangelistis scripta non fuerunt*, for we confess (saith that Learned Authour) that there were many things, which Jesus did, that are not written by the Evangelists; but these many things were not Doctrines necessary to Salvation, but Miracles, or sayings which we may be ignorant of, without any detriment to Religion, or Salvation; so St. John himself tells us, *And many other Signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his Disciples, which are not written in this Book, but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye might have Life through his Name* : Which utterly destroys the necessity of their Unwritten word of God; for if what is written be enough to perswade Men to believe in Christ, and that believing be sufficient to save, or bring them to Eternal life that do it, then no more can be necessary, but St. John affirms both these, therefore the Romish Traditional, or Unwritten word of God is, at best, a needless, or superfluous thing.

Chap. 21.
25.

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Chap. 20.
30. 31.

Besides, it is, and must be, with all thinking
H 4 Men,

Men, a mighty Objection against this Unwritten word of God (as they call it) that the Church of *Rome* hath the sole Custody or keeping of it: the Primitive Church, after the Canon of the Scriptures was compleated, says nothing at all of it; for all the Fathers cry up, and maintain the Perfection and Sufficiency of the written word of God; and all the Reformed Churches adhere to this in Opposition to that Unwritten Word; How then came *Rome* by it? Is God so partial, such a Respector of Persons, as to Communicate it to that Church, and not to others? Or is it a Cheat, or Artifice of the *nequam ingeniosi*, the witty or Crafty Deceivers to help at a dead list? This is the very Truth! Many of their Doctrines and Practices, they plainly perceiv'd, did openly clasp with, and contradict the Holy Scriptures, or written word of God, and therefore there was no way to defend them, to acquit their Church from Errour and Impiety, but to cry up Tradition, and make it of equal Authority with the Scriptures: But this will not do it, for doth God use to contradict himself? There are that say, he hath two Wills, the one secret, the other reveal'd, and that the one is contrary to the other, which is neither better nor worse than downright Blasphemy; the Church of *Rome* with equal Blasphemy affirms, that God hath two Laws or Words, the one contained in the Scriptures, the other transmitted by Oral Tradition, and they plead this in Defence of those Doctrines which are contrary to that, being beaten from the Scriptures, and having no shelter or

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protection for their Errours there, they Fly for refuge to Tradition, as if that could bear them out, or support their Cause, and so they make the infinitely Wise and Righteous God contradict himself, which he must needs do, if he hath declared his will to Mankind two several ways, (that is,) by Scripture and Oral Tradition, and this affirms things which that deny's and gainsays: They had rather, if they could do it, prove the points in controversy by the Scriptures, as the most satisfactory and convincing proof; but not being able to do that, they are constrained either to confess their Errours, or to pretend Tradition to vouch and countenance them: That they will not do; because it is against their Worldly Interest, inconsistent with their Honour and Profit: This they had better not do, because the Cheat is so Evident, that none but weak Persons will be gull'd and deluded by it; for we know that must needs be an Abominable Cheat, which they call the Unwritten word of God, because by this they evacuate or make the other voy'd and of no Effect, Command what in the Scripture God forbids, and forbid what he Commands, condemn what he allows, allow what he condemns, make that necessary which he leaves Arbitrary or Indifferent, and that Indifferent which he makes necessary, using the Scriptures as one *Procrustes* a Theevish Inn-keeper in *Germany*, is said to have Treated his Guests, who having but one Bed for all Comers, if he that was to lye in it was too long for the Bed, he would cut off his Feet or Legs till he had made him of

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an equal length for it, if too short, he would rack and stretch him out, till he had made him of a fit size for it : Thus doth *Rome* by her Traditions enlarge and alter, add to and take from, pervert and wrest the Scriptures to her own, and the Destruction of Multitudes of those that give up themselves to her Conduct.

For I desire it may be considered, what an horrid injury and affront it is to the Laws of God, to those Sacred Books, that contain so Choice and most Precious a Treasure, as the Words of Eternal Life which they propound to us, must needs be, to use them thus : Nay what abominable insolence and contempt of God it is to accuse them of Imperfection, to affirm they do not give Men sufficient Instruction to Salvation, which they say they do? Is there any thing that Princes do more highly resent, or more severely Punish than the contempt of their Laws, and Royal Edicts : when instead of paying a ready and cheereful Obedience to them, any Persons censure and carp at them ; Falsly call them obscure and defective Institutions, that do not reach the ends or designs they were made for, and take upon them to forge new ones, to put out Counterfeit Edicts and Mandates in the Princes name which he knew nothing of, and gave no consent to: Just thus doth the Church of *Rome* treat the Great Lord and Ruler of all the World, accuses his Laws (contained in the Scriptures) of Imperfection, say's they are obscure and defective, dark and unintelligible Institutions in themselves, and forges new ones
which

which it calls his Traditional or Unwritten Laws, and is Fonder of, or Prefers them before the other, which must needs provoke his Anger, and bring down his most fearful Judgments upon it, even all the Woes, Plagues, and Curses denounc'd in Scripture against them that commit so Insolent and Hainous a Wick- edness.

And as they affront and dishonour the Scrip- tures by receiving Traditions with equal re- verence and devotion, so in defiance to them they have Inlarged the Faith, Multiply'd the Sacraments, Chang'd all the Principal parts of Religion, which they propound to the Christian Church: They neither Believe nor Worship God according to the Scriptures, but to the Faith oncè delivered to the Saints; they have added new and false Propositions, and instead of the Pure and Holy Worship God requires, disgrace and provoke him with their Images, and leaving the old Paths, and the good way of his appointing, they have invented new means and conditions of Salvation; For all the points Controverted between Them & Us, are plainly and evidently Repugnant to the Scrip- tures, as would appear by a particular Exami- nation of them: But this is not proper to the Subject I have in hand, and hath been so fully and Unanswerably proved by many Eminent Divines of our Church, Famous in their Ge- nerations, Men of Renown, the excellent Bishop *Jewel*, Dr. *Feild*, the two *Whites*, the Arch-deacon in his *way to the true Church*, and his Brother the Bishop of *Ely* in his Defence
of

of it, By Arch-Bishop *Laud* in his admirable Book against *Fisher*, by the Reverend Bishop of *Down* in the Defence of his Disswasive from Popery, (to the Learned and Excellent labours of which worthy Men, I refer the Reader) that it is needless for me to do it again: But if any of the Church of *Rome* think I wrong their Mother by charging her with forsaking the Scriptures, I am ready to make it good, when they require it of me, and will prove the points in Debate between the Church of *England*, and theirs, to be contrary to Scripture; and therefore most dangerous Errours and Innovations.

And if they depart from the Scriptures, (as tis certain they do) which only are able to make Men wise unto Salvation, and by which all Christians shall be judged at the last and great Assize of the World, there must needs (as all the Reformed Churches truly believe and teach) be great peril of Damnation in the Communion of that Church: They are out of the way which God commandsall Men to walk in, that would obtain the Immortal Glories and Felicities of his Heavenly Kingdom; and therefore if they be Saved it must be by extraordinary ways or means. 'Tis possible that God (whose Mercies are Infinite) may save the Ignorant and well meaning People amongst them, that follow the Romish Guides in the Simplicity of their Hearts, *Who either have not* (as a learned Person of our Church observes) *sufficient means to find the truth, or else after the use of the best means they can have, find not*

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Sufficient motives to convince their Conscience that they are in Error. 'Tis possible also that they who lived all their days in the Communion of the Church of Rome, may repent at their Death, humbly beseech God to pardon all their Sins and Errours known and unknown, and so find Mercy from him, who is not extreme to mark what is done amiss: But if that Ignorance, or this Repentance do not help them, though we take not on us to pass the Dreadful doom upon them, yet our Charity to their Souls, obliges us to tell them, their Condition is exceeding Dangerous.

'Tis therefore great Uncharitableness to himself, for any Man that Considers what a Blessed and Desirable thing Eternal Happiness is, that thinks what it is to live with God, his Angels and Saints in Glory unconceivable, in joys unspeakable and endless, to venture his Soul in the Romish Communion, where there is the greatest hazard of losing it, and at most but a poor Possibility of saving it.

A Church which I cannot better describe than in the Words of the Person I last mentioned, who was a learned and a moderate Man: *She brings forth Children unto God by their Baptism, but then Poysons them in their Breeding: When they ask for Bread, she gives them a Stone, and Serpents instead of Fishes. To the Word of God she adds and equalls her own Traditions, she reads unto them that Word, but in an unknown Tongue: teaches them to Pray, but in Latin, which they understand not: directs them to call upon God, but withal upon Saints and Angels: to Wor-*

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ship God, but also dumb Blocks and Images. She sends them to Legends and Pictures for much of their Instruction: and for Direction of their Conscience to such Casuists, as their own Men say, have Dishonour'd Christian Religion with their Abominable Lessons. She feeds them with a dry Communion, and bids them obey Jesus Christ and the Pope, if they will be Saved. She hath also her Bishops, Priests, Masses, Monks, Monasteries, but such as have nothing almost common with those of the Primitive times, save only their Names. In brief, with all possible Artifices, she labours to keep her poor Laity Hoodwinckt in Ignorance, for Blind Men are more Tractable and Obedient unto their Leaders. She tells them, it is Creed enough for them to believe only the Catholick Church, that is, to Resign up to her self their Understanding: but if any of them be farther Curious to know more, Especially if they will be Prying into that Dangerous Book, the Bible, she sends them into the Inquisition to be there better Catechised. Thus she deals with her own. But for all Us that are (in her Opinion) Hereticks, if her power were answerable to the Malignity of her desires, no Remedy, we should all pass through the Inquisition into Hell.

To go from a safe Church as Ours is (wherein there is a Certainty of Salvation) to such a Dangerous Church as the Roman is, (wherein there is but a meer Possibility of it) is a wilder and more unaccountable Errour or oversight, than if a Man that was to Sail in a Rough, Dangerous, and Tempestuous Sea, full of Rocks and Sands, should refuse a stout and
well

well built Ship, that had Skilful, Careful, and Honest Pilates, and chuse one that is Crasy, and full of Leaks or Breaches to let in the angry and devouring Billows, and is steered by such Pilates as are either Treacherous or Careless, Ignorant or Knavish.

His Royal Highness then had no reason to change his Religion upon this account, his Eternal Happines and Salvation being certain and undoubted by his stay in our Church, (that is) by believeing and living as it teaches and requires all its Members to believe, and lead their lives; But exceeding doubtful and hazardous, no more than possible in the Romish Communion. And being neither for his Interest in this, nor his Happines in the other World, to turn Papist, his Royall Highness could have no just Motive or Inducement to do it.

These Arguments, as they prove the Duke ought not, so they will Oblige all that consider them, to question whether he hath changed his Religion, for being a wise Prince, how can he be Guilty of so Deplorable an Errour, as to do that, which is against his interest now, and his Happines for ever, that will make him Inglorious whilst he lives, and Miserable when he is Dead and gone.

But the *Excluders* will say, this is to doubt whether the Sun Shines, when he appears in his highest or noon day Glory, to question matter of Fact, for did not his Royal Highness refuse the Oaths and Subscription against Popery,

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and

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and do not *Colemans Letters* speak of his Zeal for the *Romish Church and Religion*, and if he be not a *Papist*, why doth he not declare himself, and satisfy the Nation that he is of the *Establish'd Religion*? these things they say make it Evident to all, that will not shut their Eyes, that the Duke is a *Papist*.

As for the first, his *Refusing the Oaths and Subscription against Popery*, That is no evidence of his being a *Papist*, because he might have reasons for that *Refusall*. He might think it a dishonour to him, being a Prince of the Blood, and next Heir to the Crown, to take the Oaths, and make the Subscription, which every Justice of the Peace, and every Captain in the Militia, and persons inferiour to these, were by that Law Obliged to do. Is there any thing that a brave & generous Prince, such as his Royal Highness is, Is more tender of, than his Honour? And would it not have been a lessening and impairing of that, a descending from his greatness, a stooping much below himself to take those Oaths, and Subscribe as every person that hath any Office Civil or Military, is by that Law required to do? Sure there is some difference to be put, and some distinction to be made, between a Prince and Men of lower degree, between a Son of the late, and a Brother, the only Brother, of this present King, and other Subjects.

'Tis true indeed, the Duke whilst the King lives, Is but a Subject, but then he is the highest, the greatest Subject, next to the King both in Blood and Dignity, and hath such a property,
and

and capacity as no other Subject hath, and therefore what may be Honourable enough for other Subjects to do, may look meanly in him, and be in his own Apprehension, if not in the Opinion of others, a lessening his Esteem, and impairing his Honour.

The Dukes Refusal too might proceed from a just dislike, and aversion to the great Contriver and Promoter of that Law, which requir'd the taking those Oaths, and the making that Subscription; a Man Popular, Ambitious, Busy, and Designing, and, as since appears, most Trayterous and Disloyal, who had misbehaved himself towards his Royal Highness, and without any Provocation was become his Enemy, and openly profess'd or declared himself so to be; the Duke, I say, might justly hate the Child for the Fathers sake, refuse to observe a Law Contriv'd and Promoted by his open Enemy; to comply with, and do those things at the Motion of Such an One, being both dishonourable in it self, and that which would encourage the Man to more, and greater rudeness and sauciness towards him, and set his invention a work to frame new Impositions, and lay greater Burthens upon him, there being no end of some mens Projects and Impertinencies, and if they be humour'd in one thing, they will demand an hundred, and gradg if they be not satisfied, and if you do not let them lead you by the Nose as long, and as far as they please, your first compliance is Slighted or Contemn'd as a thing of no worth, nor merit; and therefore the best way

to be freed from such Troublesome and Imposing persons, is to withstand, or give them a repulse at the first; for if they find a Man resolute, and not to be wrought upon, they will be discouraged, and in time give over their Impertinent and Saucy attempts.

Besides the Dukes taking the Oaths and Subscribing could not have acquitted him from the Suspicion of Popery with them, that were desirous he should be reputed, that they might treat him as a Papist; for so long as his Holiness pretends a power to grant Dispensations, and is willing to exercise, or put that power into practice, which he will do as long, as he hath any Zeal for the Catholick cause, or any Concern for his own gain and profit, so long they that love to brand others with the hateful name of Papists, will think, or call them so, notwithstanding all the Oaths they can take, and the Subscriptions they can make against it, because 'tis possible they may, and easie to say, nay to perswade Credulous People, they have Dispensations from him to do such things.

But *Colemans* Letters (they say) *speake of the Dukes Zeal for the Romish Church and Religion*, therefore he is not only a Papist, but a Zealous one: the inference is not certain, because though those Letters say so, yet they may speak falsely. What are Papists so great lovers of Truth, as to make any Conscience of telling a Lye? Do not the *Excluders* think them a Faithless and Deceitful Generation, and Men that have no truth in them? Do they

not believe that the Jesuites, and others (nay *Coleman* himself) that were Executed for the Popish Plot, who asserted their Innocence, and deny'd themselves to be Guilty of, or Privy to any such design, at their Death, do they not believe, I say, that these Men Dyed with an Impudent and Notorious Lye in their Mouths? And if they dare do that at their Death, to be sure they are not affraid to do it at other times, when they apprehend no harm nor danger near them.

They that are so Prodigal of the Blood of Princes, as to think it Lawful, nay Meritorious to kill them, will make no Conscience of Blaspheming and Slandering them, of speaking all Words that may do them Harm and Injury, blast and stain their Honour, render them Suspected to, and Rob them of the Love, Esteem, and Reverence of their People. Was not that glorious Prince King *Charles* the Martyr (as I observed before) Reproach'd and Ruin'd by the Odious name of Papist, which his Enemy's falsly cast upon him? and can any Man think the Jesuits, and other Zealots of the Romish Faction were careless or backward to spread so Mischievous a Rumour, to publish such a story as would Expose him to the Harred and Contempt of a great part of his People? for knowing him to be so Zealous and Resolved a Protestant, that he could never be gain'd to their Church, their Malice and Reveng prompted them to call, or report him a Papist; that they might Incrage and Provoke his Subjects to take Armes against him.

But there can be no Colour nor Pretence for this, the *Excluders* will say, because *Colemans* Letters were not writ to Protestants, but Papists, & therefore tell 'a true, not feigned Story. Supposing them to be writ to Papists, why may they not only declare *Colemans* Opinion of his Royal Highness? Or else be an Artifice or Trick of *Colemans* to get Mony of the *French Kings* Confessor. Declare the Opinion he had of the Duke; for Men of that Church are very Credulous (otherwise they would not be of it) apt to believe any thing they either desire or fancy: if a Man shew them the least Kindness, chance to speak any thing in Favour of their Church, though it be little and inconsiderable, and he have no Thought nor Intention ever to be a Profelyte to it, they believe presently he is theirs, and tell it far and near what a Convert they have gain'd, when no such thing is, & 'tis probable will never be done; & therefore what those Letters speak of the Dukes Zeal for the *Romish* Church, may be no more but a vain glorious Brag, or confident Fancy of him that pen'd them: or else a crafty Trick, or Wheedle to get Mony from *France*, or *Rome*, or Both, by the Confessors interest in both those Courts, to carry on the Plot in *England*, *Coleman* knowing very well, that such a Story as this of the Dukes Zeal for the *Romish* Religion, would be a mighty Motive or Inducement to prompt his Holiness, and all the Zealots of that Communion to a great and Liberal Contribution, the Design they had in hand being so expensive, that it would too much exhaust and

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impoverish the *English* Catholicks to manage, or carry it on at their own Charge.

Well, but if the Duke be not a Papist, why doth he not say so? Why doth he keep the Nation in Suspence? Why doth he not declare himself of the Church of *England*, and publickly profess the most Holy and Excellent Religion Established in it? To these Queries divers Answers may be given: That he hath declared it; for in his Speech to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, he said (if my Intelligence deceive me not)

My Lord,

I am sure I am the first Man that can demand October the 21.
Property in England, and have the greatest Pro-
perty of any Subject in England, and therefore 1679.
have the greatest Reason to defend it: any other
Man may have private Interest, but I can have
none, for I know very well that as long as this Ci-
ty, and this Nation are well, I shall be so, and that
I can be so no longer: And I do assure you, My
Lord, that no one Person in all this As-
sembly can ever Venture his Life more freely in the
Defence of this Nation, and City, and the Govern-
ment thereof as it is now by Law Establish'd, than
I will, and have been always Ready to do, as I
hope is well known.

If this be not plain enough, His Royal Highness hath declared since (if my Information be true, as I believe it was) That he was satisfied this Monarchy had no true Friends but the Church of England. And if he be so perswaded of it,

(as he hath the highest reason to be) how can he be of any other Church ? Will a Prince that is next Heir to the *English* Crown, depart from a Church he confesses to be the only true Friend to it, and joyn himself to one which by consequence, he acknowledges to be no true Friend to it ? This is too unreasonable to be supposed.

But these, if they be admitted, they will say, are but private Declarations, and not so generally known, nor so satisfactory as a publick Declaration would be. The first was publick enough being made to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. Would they have him declare it in Parliament ; He may do so if he pleases ; but it would be to no purpose to do it in an Excluding Parliament, for if he tell them never so seriously that he is no Papist, they will not believe him : Should he make the most solemn Protestations, take all the Oathes and Tests that can be devis'd, Vow, Swear, receive the most Blessed Sacrament upon it, call the Pope Antichrist, and Heretick, give him all the hard words, and infamous Appellations he could invent, it would be in Vain ; for the *Excluders* would not believe him, but say he had a Dispensation to say and do all these things : And therefore, if he be never so desirous to declare it in Parliament, Common Prudence will oblige him to stay, till the *Excluders* are shut out of it, and Men of better Principles, and a more moderate temper are elected in their stead. To do it before, would be to tell them that,

which

which they have no Mind to hear, and no Faith to believe, and what can it be but lost Labour, and a vain Attempt to go about to satisfy Men that will never be satisfied? A time may come, and I hope it is approaching, when such a Declaration will not only be believ'd, but receiv'd with the joyful Acclamations, and grateful Acknowledgments of both Houses, *and if it be thy Blessed will, Oh God, let such a time (a time so much desired by all good Men) come, and that quickly.*

But for my part, I do not think it civil or decent for those that are unacquainted with the greatest affairs of State, to take upon them to prescribe to his Royal Highness, or to tell him when, or in what manner, he should declare himself, because this would savour of Rudeness and Presumption, and therefore they must leave it to his own Prudence, and the Wise Determinations of those Great and Honourable Personages, that understand and conduct the weighty concerns of the Government, it being for them to know the times and seasons of so important an Action, and not for Men of privacy, and low degree.

Stay a while then, and consider what you are doing, be not too confident, Oh ye *Excluders*, make not so much haite, nor such a stir to shut the door upon a Prince, that you are not sure is gone from you, believe it possible for you to Err, or be Mistaken in your Opinions of him: you see he hath no Reason to be a Papist, and the Arguments for it are insufficient, do

not prove it, therefore be not too confident he is so.

SECT. IV.

So far I have consider'd the first Question, *Whether his Royal Highness be a Papist?* The next and great Enquiry is, *Whether if he be so, that Forfeits his Right?* That it doth not, I assert and am now to prove: In order to which I affirm, That it is possible for a Good, Conscientious, and well meaning Man, one that desires to go the Right way to Heaven, to turn Papist. Error may look so like Truth, and Superstition be so adorn'd with the paint and fair colours of true Piety, that Men of good understanding, and great integrity may be deceived and deluded by it. Thus the excellent *Chillingworth*, a Pious and Learned Man, was seduced to the *Romish Church*, though by the Grace of God he saw his error, return'd to our Church, and lived and died in the Holy and Apostolical Faith which it professeth, and not long after his return to it (mindful of that sacred precept of our Lord to St. Peter, *when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren*) writ his excellent Book, in which he fully and unanswerably proves that which is the Subject or Title of it, *That the Religion of Protestants is a safe way to Salvation*, (a Book highly meriting the perusal of all, that either need, or desire satisfaction in that Great and most weighty point.) In the Preface to it he tells his Readers the Motives that perswaded him to turn Papist, which though they were (as he

St. Luke
22. 32.

he truly calls them, and to which he there gives full and satisfactory answers) silly Sophisms, and false Suppositions, yet they so abused that good Man, as to Proselyte him to the Church of *Rome*. And why may not others as Pious, Prudent, and Conscientious as he, be deceiv'd and misled into Popery by these, or such fallacious Arguments or Reasons? 'Tis very well known that the Jesuits and Missionaries of the *Roman Church*, are Persons Learned and Subtile, trained up by the most expert Masters, and not suffer'd to go abroad, till they are thoroughly skil'd and instructed in the controversies between them and us, and furnish'd with all manner of Arts and Abilities to seduce, and deceive People. And cannot Persons so prepared and fitted for it, make gross errors, and the foulest practices look fair and plausible, varnish them over so with Apologies or Excuses, extenuate their guilt, pare off the Absurdities adhering to them with Distinctions, and set them out to such advantage, that an honest Man shall not only think them Innocent things, such as have no harm nor venom in them, but be very much enamour'd of or taken with them? They that read their Books must acknowledg (if they will speak the truth) that nothing is wanting in them, that either Wit or Zeal can invent, to defend, or put a fair gloss upon the errors of their Church: & though what they plead in Justification of them be false or deceitful Argumentations, poor & idle Sophisms, meer Paint & Varnish, no better than Gilding a Rotten Post, or Cloathing Error in the dress and vestments of Truth, yet they

they seem so plausible, look so fair and inviting, that a Good, Conscientious, and well meaning Man (as I said before) may be so abus'd, and deluded by them, as to become a Profelyte to the *Roman* Church. And being so, is he not a Christian? A Papist, I suppose, cannot truly be deny'd to be a Christian, because the Church, of which he is a Member, is a Christian Church, though lapsed into great Errours and Impieties : a Christian Church it must needs be, because it makes Profession of the Faith and Religion of Christ, ascribes enough to him to secure to it self the Glorious Title and Denomination of Christian ; for the Council of *Trent*, in the Explication of the Article of Justification, gives this account of it, *Hujus Justificationis causæ sunt, &c.* The Causes of this Justification are these : The Final Cause is the Glory of God, and of Christ, and Eternal Life. The Efficient Cause is the Merciful God, who freely washeth and sanctifieth, signing and anoynting with the Holy Spirit of promise, who is the earnest of our Inheritance. The Meritorious cause is the most beloved, and only begotten Son of God, who when we were Enemies, for his great Love wherewith he Loved us, did by his most holy passion upon the Cross Merit Justification, and give Satisfaction to God his Father for us : By which it is Evident that the Church of Rome holds, That the Merits of Christ are the moving or procuring Cause of our Justification, so absolutely necessary to it, that as that Council speaks a little after, *Nemo possit esse justus nisi cui merita Passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Communicantur*, no Man can be Just or Righteous but
he

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page 35.

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He to whom the Merits of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ are Communicated. Now they that acknowledg or own this Great and Fundamental Truth, that we are justified by the Merits of Christ, and consequently that he is our only Saviour, and do adore him as the Christ, or Son of God, which they cannot be deny'd to do, though that Acknowledgment, & this Worship of theirs, be mixt and accompany'd with many, and those very dangerous Errours, must be acknowledg'd to be a Christian Church: And if the collective Body be such the particular Members must be so too.

I suppose then it will be easily granted me, by the greatest Zealots against Popery, (it being but a reasonable concession, and such as I shall not take for a favour to have yeilded to me) That a Papist is a Christian, though an Erring one, and then all the dispute between the *Excluders* and me in the great Case before us, comes to this, *Whether an Erring Christian doth by being so, Forfeit his Birth-right.*

To say he doth, is an hard saying, and such as can never be justified or Defended; for a Christian, as all other Men may do, may Err either in Judgment, or Practice, or Both. Errour in Judgment, if it rests there, can forfeit no Mans Right, because it is injurious to none but the Erring Person himself, and cannot be known to any but the great Searcher of Hearts, and therefore no humane Laws can Punish it.

If any Errour then forfeits a Mans Right, it must be Errour in Practice, because this is both
open

open or manifest, and may be mischievous or hurtful to others: but every Errour in practice (every Sin that is) cannot forfeit a Common or Ordinary Right, much less so Great, Transcendent and Extraordinary a Right, as this to a Crown.

To say it can, or doth, is a sure way to deter all Men from being Christians; for who will be so, if by doing any Evil Action, he forfeits all his Happiness in Heaven, and all his Injoyments and Expectations upon Earth? That indeed is recoverable by Repentance, but it is uncertain whether any Repentance can restore a Man to these, being once forfeited, and as such alienated or taken from him; because 'tis doubtful whether he that hath them in possession will ever restore them to the first Owner. And therefore no Man, that considers the Frailty of his nature, the great and manifold Temptations to which he is exposed, and the necessity and usefulness of that Estate or Property (to his comfortable subsistence in this World) which he hath either acquir'd by his Labour and Industry, or descends to him by Inheritance, will ever be a Christian, if by being so, every Sin he commits doth forfeit that Estate or Property.

So Injurious to the most Holy and Excellent Religion of Christ, and that which tends to the utter Ruin and Destruction of it, is that Originally Popish, and since by Adoption Presbyterian Principle, *That all Dominion is founded in Grace: that no private Person hath any Right to his Estate or Property, nor any Prince or Monarch to bear Rule or Authority over others, any longer than*

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than he is an Holy and Gracious Person, and in the favour of God. Upon this Principle the Pope proceeds when he Excommunicates, and Deposeth Princes, that profess the Reformed Religion: that Profession in his Opinion makes them Hereticks, and their Persisting in it declares them Obstinate, or such as will not be Reformed, which are (he thinks) two great Sins, to deny that which he calls the Faith, and to continue stubbornly in that denial, by which (in his Judgment) they forfeit their Royal Dignity, which being lapsed to him, the Supreme Minister of Christ upon Earth, is absolutely at his disposal, so that he may give it to whom he pleaseth. Upon this Principle also the prosperous Rebels in the late times seiz'd the Government, and the Revenues of it, plunder'd, sequester'd, deprived the Loyal party of their Estates, call'd them Malignants, say'd they were great Sinners, Persons either void of, or fallen from all Grace, and being so, their Estates were forfeited, which they (being the Saints and People of God) might justly take possession of, and convert to their own use. So glad are men Knavishly inclin'd of any Religious pretence or colour for their Rapines and Injustice: but I shall endeavour to strip them of this covering, that it may never more be a Cloak for their Avarice and Oppressions.

That this is a false, as well as wicked and Subject. 1:
 mischievous Principle, may be proved divers
 ways: For first, if now under the Christian
 Religion, Dominion be founded in Grace, it
 must

must be so founded by the Decree and Declaration of Christ himself contained in the new Testament, but that gives us no notice nor information at all of any such decree or appointment of his, therefore there is, there can be no such thing. Search all the four Gospels, and all the Sacred Writings of the Apostles, and there will be nothing found in them to countenance or favour so wild a Principle. 'Tis true indeed, our Lord hath intermix'd some few Temporal promises with his great and noble offers of Eternal rewards and enjoyments, that our obedience to his excellent Laws might be excited, and encouraged with the expectation both of present and future advantages, such is that, when charging his Disciples not to be too thoughtful or solicitous for the things of the Earth, he said, *seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and his Righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you*: never afflict, nor trouble your selves about these mean and despicable things, let it be your constant study and endeavour to obey my Laws, and to lead the pure and virtuous lives they injoy you, and then you may be confident, you shall want nothing, either necessary or convenient for you in this World: *he that cloaths the Lillies in such brave and splendid Vestments, and feeds the young Ravens that cry unto him, will take care of, and extend his Royal Bounty to you his devout Worshippers, and faithful Servants.* And to this great promise, I suppose the Apostle refers, when he saith, *That Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the Life that now is, as well as of that which is to come*; but by this promise no man hath

St. Math.
6. 33.

hath any new Right to any Temporal possessions, which he had not before, but it only assures him of Gods Blessing, that he will by his gracious providence and bounty supply him with all things necessary for his present support, which may be done by prospering his labour, and diligence in an honest Calling, or by exciting others to extend their Bounty and Charity to him : but Christ doth not say, obey my Laws, live up exactly to the Rules of my Religion, and I will enrich you with the Wealth and Estates of those men, that either oppose my Doctrine, or, if they profess, do not observe or act according to it ; assure your selves that notwithstanding all I have done to convert them, many will not believe in me, nor all of them that do, obey me ; and the want of Faith in the one, and of Obedience, exact and intire Obedience in the other, will forfeit all their temporal properties and possessions, which I bequeath as my Royal Donative to you, and to my Saints for ever. Such a Declaration as this would have made it clear, that Dominion is founded in Grace ; but he hath said nothing that in the least measure looks like any such thing, unless that promise to the meek, may seem to some to have an aspect that way, *Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the Earth :* The meek are opposed to those that are angry and passionate, and they are the mild and patient people, that are not easily Provoked, not Revengful, Turbulent, nor Seditious, but of a Gentle, Pleasing, and Complying Temper, *these (saith Christ) shall Inherit the Earth, spend their*

their days in great tranquillity, be happy in the friendship of their Equals, the favour of their Superiours, and the protection of their Governours: every man is, or may be ashamed to injure those that are of such a sweet and obliging temper: not that this meekness gives them a Right to any part of the Earth, or any of the possessions of it, that belong to others, but preserves them from many dangers & miseries, which they that have it not, betray & expose themselves to, renders them patient and contented in all conditions, and will, if conjoyn'd with all other Christian Vertues, secure to them a blessed portion in the Land of Promise, the Heavenly Canaan, of which the Earthly (which God promised to the People of Israel) was but a Type or poor Resemblance, for of that our Lord here speaks, it being the happy Country which every true Christian desires, and seeks after, *an Inheritance* (as Saint Peter calls it) *incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserv'd in Heaven for him.*

And so far was our Lord from saying any thing in favour of this Principle, that he utterly declin'd or refused to intermeddle with mens Temporal Rights at all, unless it was to secure them to the owners; of which we have two remarkable instances, one in the man that came and said to him, *Master speak to my Brother that he divide the Inheritance with me*: the man was modest you see, he did not desire the whole, but would have been contented with half the Inheritance: To this Proposal Christ answers by

St. Luke
12. 13.

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by way of Reproof, *Man, who made me a Judge* Verse 14.
or a Divider over you? Thou art mistaken, I am
 not come as a Temporal Prince or Judge to give
 Estates or Possessions to any in this World, but
 to propose an Heavenly Kingdome and Im-
 mortal Happines to all mankind, and to tell
 them upon what Terms or Conditions they may
 obtain them. This is the great concern I am im-
 ploy'd in, and if thou wilt consult me herein,
 I will soon give thee full Satisfaction. That the
 Man who made this Motion had no Right to
 the Inheritance seems Evident to me, both by
 the smart Reprehension Christ gives him in these
 words, *Man, who made me a Judge, or a Divi-*
der over you? I will not meddle in so Unjust a
 thing, as to bid thy Brother divide his Inheri-
 tance with thee: and also by the Admonition
 he gives him in the following words, *Take heed* Verse 15.
and Beware of Covetousness, for a Mans Life
consisteth not in the abundance of the things, which
he possesseth: Thy desire of wealth, and endea-
 vour to encrease thy own by lessening thy Bro-
 thers Possession, is a great Sin in thee, and of
 such mighty danger, that it ought to be avoided
 with the highest Care and Caution; for though
 Estates and Possessions are useful to sustain Life,
 yet no Man can prolong his Life, nor make it
 really the more happy by possessing Superflu-
 ous Wealth.

The other Instance is the Question proposed
 to him, by the *Herodians, What thinkest thou?*
Is it Lawful to give Tribute unto Caesar? To St. Mat.
 which (having first reproved them for their 22. 17.
 Treachery and Hypocrisy) he Answers, *Ren-*

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der Verse 21.

der unto Caesar the things which are Caesars : Pay your Prince the Tribute that is due to him, do not defraud or wrong him of any thing that belongs to him, far be it from me to Advise or Counsel any to detain the Emperours Right from him,

If our Lord had design'd to found Dominion in Grace, here had been a fit Oppertunity to have done it ; for when they said, *Tell us, is it Lawful to give Tribute unto Caesar* ? He might have reply'd, no, it is not, *Caesar* is an Infidel or Heathen, or Wicked Man, and as such is fallen from all Dominion, and therefore hath no Right to Demand Tribute of the People, nor they any Obligation upon them to Pay him any : But so far was Christ from giving them such an Answer, that he Acknowledg'd Tribute to be *Caesars* Right, and Commanded it to be pay'd unto him ; and though he was the Son of that God, from whom *Caesar* receiv'd his Imperial Power and Authority, yet when the Officers Demand-ed it of him, rather than he would deprive him of his Right, he wrought a Miracle, that he might have wherewith to pay it : which shews the admirable Justice and Integrity of our Lord, in that he was careful to secure and preserve all Mens Rights and Properties. If any Man refused to Submit unto his Excellent Laws, and to come over to his Religion, he told him, he should have no part nor portion in his Kingdom, but then to avoid mistakes, he declared that his Kingdom was not of this World, not an Earthly, but an Heavenly Kingdom, and all Right to this he affirms is founded in Grace, that

it is the Free and Royal Gift of God, and the Purchase of his Meritorious Holiness, and Sufferings, there being nothing in Men to Merit so great a Good, the things he requires of them being necessary Dispositions to qualifie, or fit them for the Injoyment of it, not the Cause moving God to confer it upon them.

So that though a Pious and Holy Conversation be the great Condition of a Crown hereafter, and so absolutely necessary, that it cannot be obtain'd without it : And though it be an Ornament and Security to him that hath one upon Earth, an Ornament, as it Gives an admirable Lustre to his Greatness, and Renders him Excellent in his Person, as well as upon the Account of his Royal Office : A security, as it Indears the Providence of God, and Ingages his tender care of him, as it Discourages Wicked and Trayterous Men from attempting or enterprising any thing against him, whose Piety makes him Dear to Heaven, renders him so highly the Joy and Delight of the Blessed Angels, that they are Ready to offer themselves as a Guard and Defence to him ; and as it procures him the Love, Honour, and Admiration of all good Men ; yet the highest Piety or Holiness gives no Man a Title to that Dominion or Sovereignty upon Earth, to which he had not an Antecedent Right, nor doth the Want of it deprive him that hath it of that Right Christ offers, Indeed an Heavenly Kingdom, upon Condition of a good Life, but an ill one Forfeits no Mans Right to an Earthly. And seeing our Lord hath said nothing in Favour of this Te-
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nure, but on their contrary that which overthrows and destroys it, It cannot be true that Dominion is founded in Grace; for he having not founded it so, who is the great Law giver to his Church, no humane Authority can do it, without invading his Prerogative, nay (as I observ'd before) without destroying his Religion; because Experience shews us, most Men are mightily byass'd or led by their Interest; for though some have been such generous Lovers of him, as to forsake all to follow him, Houses, and Lands, and Possessions, nay, and what were more precious to them their dearest Lives too, yet to make every Sin a Christian Commits (whilst he endeavours to Obey his Laws, and to Imitate his Holy Life) through Weakness, Ignorance, Surprise, or Inadvertency to forfeit all his Temporal Rights and Possessions is to deter or drive all Men from his Religion, to scare them from putting their Necks into such a Cruel Yoke, to make them suspect, that under pretence of Saving them hereafter, it intends to Begger and Ruin them here, offers them great things in Reversion, on purpose to cheat them of all they have in Possession. But thanks be to God, though some Men for their own Ends are so Impious as to teach such Knavish Doctrines, yet our Lord is more Just and Reasonable than to Render Mens Temporal Rights so Precarious and Uncertain, as the Assertors of this Wild Principle would make them.

Besides, If we suppose this Principle to be true (as it is most certainly false) yet upon divers

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vers Accounts it is not Practicable ; For either it must be left to every Mans private Judgment or Opinion who hath Grace, and who hath not, who is a Child of God, and who is not, who is a Saint, and who a Reprobate, and consequently, he must have Power to seize the Rights and Properties of those he believes to be Sinners and Wicked Persons : Or else there must be some publick Judg to Conduct this great Affair, and to Determine or Decide all the Controversies about it.

To assert the first, to make every Man a Judg in the Case is Intolerable, the Mother of all mischief and confusion, 'tis to set all Mankind together by the Ears, or to put them into a State of War : For will not every Man think himself a Saint (when it is so much for his Gain and Advantage to be so perswaded of himself) and his Neighbour, that hath a better Estate, and a fairer Fortune, a Sinner ? *Titius* (suppose) hath large Possessions and a goodly Heritage, *Sempronius* is Poor, but highly conceited of his Sanctity, thinks himself very Pious Religious, and dear to God, but his Neighbour *Titius* to be a Reprobate, and Gods Enemy, and upon that Presumption seizes or possesses himself of his Estate : *Valerius* seeing what *Sempronius* had done, and Judging it a ready way to get Wealth, Entertains the same Thoughts of him, and Treats him as he did *Titius* ; *Fabius* being a Spectator of these Practices, smiles and takes the next turn, sets upon *Valerius*, and forces the Rich Booty out of his hands : And so they run on in an endless Circle of Cheat-

ing and Robbing one another, and turn the World into a Den of Holy and Religious Theeves : A place so miserable, that no good Man could have any Temptation to stay in it, or else because he cannot Dye Innocently when he will, be forced to exchange Cities for Woods and Deserts, and the Society of Men for the Company of Beasts, as the better & more Innocent Creatures. So mischievous to Humane Society, so Destructive of all Justice and Honesty, so Productive of all Confusion and Disorder, is it to make every Man a Judg in the Case, and to invest him with Power to seize the Rights and Properties of those he thinks to be void of Grace and Godliness.

To say there must be a publick Judg to Manage this great Affair, and to Determine all the Controversies about it, is to talk Idly ; for seeing Christ hath appointed no such Judg or Officer, who shall chuse or give him Commission so to be ? The People ? Alas the Major part of them have no Grace themselves, and therefore if they had any Right to chuse such an Officer, their being fallen from Grace, and Sinners in many Instances, Forfeits that Right : But suppose all the People to be Holy, (though they never were, never will be so) how shall they know which of all the numerous Competitors that stand for so great and gainful an Office, hath Grace, and is a Child of God ? he whom they think a Sheep may be a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing, the Man they suppose to be a Dove may be a Vulture, and he whom they take for an Angel of Light, may prove a Devil. The
Hearts

Hearts of Men are known to none but God ; the People therefore (if they were allowed to chuse this great Officer) can only Judg of him according to Appearance, by the Profession of Religion and Holiness he makes, and by his outward Actions and Behaviour, which may be wholly Feigned and Hypocritical ; for will not the greatest Rogue in the World look as Demure, talk as Godly, seem as Holy as ever he can, whilst he stands Candidate for so profitable an Imploy, if he do it not, he is a very silly Wretch.

Suppose then this great Judg or Officer to be chosen, Being invested he is either a Gracious and Holy Person, or not : If not, his Election is Null or Void ; because he holds his new imploy by Grace, which being destitute of, as soon as it appears by any Evil or Sinful Action his Office is void, and the Persons concern'd must proceed to a new Election. But if on the other side the Person Elected be really Holy and Religious, when this Office is confer'd upon him (though that cannot be certainly known) yet there is no assurance that he will continue so ; for he may either fall into Personal Sins, or abuse his Trust by passing wrong Judgment, by a False or Erroneus Sentence he may Condemn them as Graceless and Wicked Men, that are truly Holy and Religious, and so deprive them of their Rights and Properties wrongfully, or call them Gracious and Pious Persons that only seem so, and adjudg those Possessions to them, which they have no Right to. For doth he pronounce them Saints

and the Children of God, whose outward Actions and Demeaner appear to be agreeable to the Laws of Christ? This may be a great mistake, because those may be pure Dissimulation, meer Hypocritical paint and varnish; for a cunning and wary Hypocrite will so Personate or Act the part of a Saint (especially when it will be so Beneficial to him as this Principle makes it) that the most watchful and strict observer shall not be able, at least of a considerable time, to discover or find him out. And how Abominable is it to Rob one Sinner to Enrich Another? to take from him that Misbehaved himself, or did an Evil Action, that Estate and those Possessions, which he either acquired by his Labour and Industry, or descended to him by Inheritance, and give them to a dissembling Knave, that is careful only to seem, but desires not to be Holy and Religious. He may Err too in the Sentence he passes upon Offenders, for those he takes to be Reprobates, may be the Children of God, and the Evil Actions he supposes to be Mortal and Hainous Sins, may be the Spots of Sons, and proceed not from a Total Destitution or Want, but from weakness of Grace, they may be Slips and Frailties, not wilful or deliberate Crimes, though they sometimes ensnare and surprisè him, yet the Man may heartily Abhor, Repent of, and Strive against them, be earnestly Labouring after that habitual Holiness, and proficiency in Piety and Vertue, that will in time render him Victorious over all Sin, and Wickedness. What horrid Injury is it then to such a Child of God as this

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(that heartily Loves his Heavenly Father, and sincerely endeavours to do his Will) to Condemn him as a Reprobate, and as such to deprive him of all the Possessions he hath upon Earth?

So that if any Sect, or Society of Men had Power to Elect such a Judg or Officer, unless when they have chose, they can make him Infalible, or give him Unerring (that is) Infinite Wisdom, still they would be never the better; because he could not Execute his Office without committing the grossest, most mischievous and pernicious Errours and Mistakes, without passing such Sentences as will Condemn and Ruine the Innocent, and on the other side Justifie and Enrich the Guilty and the Wicked.

I know indeed that those two great Rivals, who claim a Right of Judging in the Case, that is the Pope and Presbytery, do both pretend to be Infalible, the first Directly or in Express words, the other by Consequence: As for the Pope he professes to have an Infalible or Unerring Judgment in all Cases, and the Presbytery say they have the Spirit, which is to say the same thing his Holiness doth, though in other Terms: Now here being two Parties contending for this Judicature, and both of them, for the due managing of it, pretending to be Infalible, and neither of them willing to quit their Claim or Title, or to resign it to the other, the Question is, Which of them must be acknowledged Judg in the Case? The Presbytery are Evidently the Younger, and but of Yesterday in
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compare with the other ; for the Pope will plead that several General Councils have own'd and asserted him to be the supreme Judg, upon Earth, in all Causes belonging to Religion, but the Presbytery can alledg no such thing, never had any Council to declare for them, unless they will be so Presumptuous as to call the sneaking Synod of *Dort* so. And therefore till one of these Pretenders Renounce his claim, there can be no supreme or sole Judg in the Case, and to place this Judicature in them both, would make mad work; because the Pope hath adjudged the Presbytery to be Hereticks, and therefore void of Grace, and consequently such as have no Right to Judg in the Case. And the Presbytery on the other side call the Pope Antichrist and Man of Sin, and the Church of *Rome* over which he presides, the Great Whore, the Whore of *Babylon*, and therefore not only fallen from, but past all Grace: And those whom he declares to be Saints and good Catholicks, they pronounce to be Reprobates, or Sinners of the first Magnitude: Those also whom he calls Hereticks, and Anathematizes as the most Flagitious Criminals upon Earth, they admire and cry up as the Peculiar People & Dear Children of God. So that if the Accusations and Indictments, they prefer one against another, be true, they are both such Impious Graceless Persons, that they are not capable of being Judges in the Case, and the gross and abominable Errors both of them are so Notoriously Guilty of, Shame, and Prove the Infallibility they both lay

lay claim to, to be a most insolent and lying Pretence.

And being neither taught in Scripture nor Practicable in it self, this Principle must needs be false, and the Invention of Cheats, who say as the *Gnosticks* did of old, *That Gain is Godliness*. If Christ had founded Dominion in Grace, he would have inserted this degree amongst his other Laws, which his Blessed Apostles have Transmitted to us in their inspired Writings, but there is no mention of any such thing, and he having not so founded it, no Authority upon Earth can do it : And because he took Care by his Strict and Excellent precepts of Justice to preserve and secure Mens Rights and Properties, as they can be none of his Disciples, that Violate and Invade them, so upon what Pretence soever they do it, they must expect the dreadful Punishment, which his Laws Denounce against the Unjust & the Oppressours ; and therefore I conclude, That Dominion is not founded in Grace, but as a Reverend Person Observes, *in Law and Labour, in Succession and Purchase*.

*Bp. Taylor
Ductor
Dubi. p.
543.*

And if Dominion be not founded in Grace then a Christian may Err in Practice, (that is) do some Evil things and not forfeit his Temporal Right or Property, be it Ordinary or Extraordinary, a Right to a private Estate, or as this under debate, to succeed to the Royal Dignity.

The next Inquiry then must be, *what Errours in Practice Forfeit a Mans Right*, These must in Reason

Subject 2.

Reason be such as are Repugnant to, and open Violation of some great Design or Intention of his Being, but no Man was Born for himself alone, but for the publick good, and to be serviceable to Humane Society, of which he is a part or Member, which he is obliged to promote with all his Care and Industry, and to Contribute his Endeavours to the Preservation of, For the Effecting of which these three things (as the Learned and Excellent Bishop, *Sander-son* observes) are absolutely necessary; *The Defending our Country against Forreign Force and Invasion: The Administration of Distributive Justice, that the Good be Protected and Rewarded, the Evil and Unjust Punish'd according to the Laws: Care of Commutative Justice, of Trade or Commerce, and all kind of Contracts; the welfare and safety of Mankind being so concern'd in these things, that unless they be secured, they must needs be involved in Misery and Ruin; for all places will be fill'd with Thefts, Murders, Frauds and Injuries, and the Lives and Estates of the most Innocent Persons be exposed to the Avarice and Cruelty of the Great or Mighty.*

*Praelectio
Quinta
Sect 19.*

The Crimes therefore that Forfeit a Mans Right, must be such as are Destructive of Humane Society, which are Thefts, Murders, and Treasons: But then he that commits these, or any of them, doth by our Laws Forfeit his Life as well as Estate: the Royal Clemency indeed, may if it sees Cause, Pardon those that Commit these great Offences, which Pardon Restores them intirely to all they had Forfeited, but without that they are Dead, and Deprived
of

of all their Possessions by Law : It being Just that he who steals another Mans Goods, should loose his own, that he who will not let his Neighbour Live to Enjoy his Estate, should Forfeit both his Life and Estate, and that he or they who attempt any thing against the Sacred and most Precious Life of their Prince, be not only Punish'd as the highest Malefactors, by a Death peculiar to such execrable Criminals, but that they suffer in their Posterity too, those that descend from them not being permitted to enjoy their Estates, but that they be Vagabonds and Miserable in the Earth, thar others may see and fear, and not dare to do so Wickedly, as to Rebel or Conspire against their Prince. There are in all Ages all Places of the World some desperate Villains that can be content to venture their own Lives, if they can but Imbroyl Kingdoms, and Assassinate or Murder Princes ; and therefore it is Just that not only Death, but Forfeiture of Estates and all their Possessions be the Punishment of Traitors, because this will many times Restrain those from such Detestable Practices, which that cannot deter them from, for they that are so mad as not to care for their own Lives, will yet be tender of their Innocent Children, & take heed how they Ruin them.

Thefts then, and Murders, and Treasons are such Errours in Practice, as Forfeit both the Lives and Properties of those that commit them; because these Crimes are so pernicious that if they be not Punish'd with such Severity, they will Ruine or Destroy any State or Society ;
for

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for no Man could enjoy his Life or Estate, & there would be no Peace nor Government, but continual Oppressions, Wars, Murders, Tumults, & Seditions, which must needs Ruin or lay any Kingdom Waste.

And if these be all the Crimes that Forfeit Mens Rights and Properties, his Royal Highness cannot have Forfeited his Right of Succession, because he is so Innocent from all these, that his greatest Enemies (the *Excluders* themselves) have not laid any of them to his Charge.

Supposing then the Duke to be a Papist, that is, an Erring Christian, yet that making no Forfeiture of his Right, To take it from him is to Oppress and Ruin an Innocent Prince, and therefore the highest and most execrable Injustice: To Rob a mean Person of his Right is Theft and Knavery, to Deprive a Prince (in Defiance of all the Laws of Heaven and Earth, of God and Men) of such a Treasure as a Crown, of such an Inheritance as a Kingdom, nay as three Kingdoms, is so great an Injury or Oppression, that I want words to express it.

To say the *Bill of Exclusion* is Cautionary or Preventive, design'd to Disable a Popish Prince from doing the Mischiefs, which as such he may do, if he gets into the Throne, instead of mending the matter makes it worse, this being to Punish a Prince with great, if not the highest Severity, not for doing things meriting such a Punishment, but for fear he should do them, which is a new sort of Justice, and such as was never before heard of in the Christian World, and can be no where match'd unless it be amongst

mongst the Turks; where the Custom is for the new *Sultan* to strangle his Brothers, for fear if they were suffer'd to Live, they should Conspire against, and Attempt to take the Empire from him. This sort of Justice, if it was pursued to all the purposes to which it equally serves, would make mad work in the World, fill it full of Violence and Cruel Practices; for by the same Reason they may deprive Honest Men of their Rights, their Estates and Possessions, not because they have already, but because they may hereafter put them to Ill and Dangerous uses. The old Justice is a dull and slow thing in Compare with this, That stays, till Men have Offended, or Committed things worthy of Punishment, and then it Strikes; but This is so Quick and Expeditious that it Punishes before they have Transgress'd, Draws out the Destroying Sword, not only before a Man be Convicted, but before he be Guilty; than which way of Proceeding nothing can be more Impious and Unrighteous, and consequently more to be Abhor'd, Execrated, & Avoided by every one that pretends either to Common Honesty, or Christian Piety. For to say as the Men of the New Morals do, That a bare Suspicion of Injury from another makes it Just, or Lawful to disable the Person so suspected, to do it, is to expose the Lives and Estates of the most Innocent Persons to the Avarice and Cruelty of every Suspicious Villain, that hath Power or Opportunity to invade them: For the more Wicked any Man is, the more Suspicious he must needs be, That being the inseperable Companion of Guilt:

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And if this Maxime be admitted, it will Animate him that receives it to the most Savage Practises, Encourage him with *Solomons* Mad-man to cast Fire-Brands, Arrows and Death, to Murder this, Rob that Man, and Undo a third, and to repeat such Outrages as often as he can, and all this, because he is such a Rogue as to Suspect, without any Ground or Reason at all, that the first will kill, the second rife, the third ruin him. Upon this Principle a Prince may seize the Estates, and cut the Throats of all his Subjects, whom he suspects to be Disaffected to him, and the People Beggar and Butcher one another as often as they please. And then 'tis in vain to talk of Government, or Laws, or humane Society, This being a perfect state of War, to lay aside that Mercy and Justice which are both the Ornament and Happiness of Men, and to put on the Fierceness and Barbarity of the most Savage Beasts: 'Tis not then injury Suspected, but Acted, the having Done wrong to another, not his Fear or Apprehension that it will be done, that makes a Man justly Punishable.

Subject the
3d.

St. Mat. 7.
12.

And I cannot more Effectually shame, and reprove this new Justice, than by Comparing it with some of the Principles of the Christian Religion (of which we all make Profession) deliver'd to us by our Lord and his Apostles. With that great Precept of Justice, *All things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you do ye even so to them*: This is so excellent and equal a Rule for us to act by in all our Intercourse and Dealings with others, that

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it was admir'd and applauded by the very Heathens, the Emperour *Severus* was so pleased with it, that he had it often in his Mouth, Reverenc'd the Christian Religion, and the Glorious Author of it for the sake of this Precept. Had our Lord said, do all things that are Just, he had given indeed a General Rule, Comprehending all the Special Precepts of the Law of Nature, but he had said nothing by which we might have certainly known, what in all Affairs and Transactions is Just, but when he said, *All things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do ye even so to them*, he gave us such a Rule, by which in every Case and Circumstance we may be sure, what is Just; for as we cannot doubt what we would have others do to us, so neither can we doubt what we our selves ought to do to others: Every Man in his Wits, would receive no Injury or Wrong from others, but Injoy his Life and Estate, all his Rights and Properties, without Dammage & Diminution, and therefore he must offer no Injury to any Man, nor attempt to Dispossess, or Deprive him of any thing that belongs to him.

Every Man would have others deal fairly and sincerely, keep their word and promise with him, not Circumvent nor deceive him with lies, fraud, or falsehood, pay him what is due to him, or if he owe another any thing, he would not have him be rigorous or severe with him, but forbear or allow him some time, till he be able to pay him, if he be in any Want or Misery, he would be Relieved and Assisted by

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Episcopius in locum.

Id. Instit. Theol. lib. 4: pa. 249.

the Counsel, Help, Comfort, and Prayers of others, and therefore is obliged to do all these things to others.

And this Rule extends to all Orders and Degrees of Men, Superiours, Equals, and Inferiours: They that have any Superiority over others, expect from them the Honour and Obedience due to them, and therefore must pay the same Respect and Submission to those that are possess'd of an higher Station. Every Man looks for Friendship and Fidelity from his Equals, and consequently must be Kind and Faithful to them. They that are Inferiour to, and have any Dependence upon others, would Injoy their Favour, Clemency, and good Will, and Receive from them Help, Relief, and Counsel in their need, and therefore must afford the same to those that are Below, and Depend upon them. He that is a Magistrate, if he were a Private Person would be protected both in his Life and Estate, have no Man suffer'd to do him Wrong or Violence with Impunity, and therefore must so discharge his Office, and behave himself to all Men that come to him for Justice. So that this one Rule gives us full and sufficient Direction how to Order all our Intercourse, and Dealings with Men, that they may be Just and Equal. And if the greatest Zealots for, and Admirers of it, will please to Compare their Project of *Exclusion* with this Excellent Rule or Law of Christ, they will soon perceive the High and Horrid Injustice of it. Do they Treat, or do to his Royal Highness as they themselves would be done to? Would any one of them

them be content to be depriv'd of his Birth-right
meerly upon the Account of his Religion? No,
so far are they from being willing to be so used
themselves, that to prevent or take away all
possibility of it, they would deprive the Duke
of his Inheritance: They Love themselves so
well, that they would not Suffer at all, have no
Harm nor Danger happen to them, their Ha-
tred to his Royal Highness is so Cruel and Im-
placable, that they would make Him Suffer the
greatest Wrong and Dammage. To make a true
Judgment in the Case, *Mutanda est Persona* the
Person must be changed: Let then the Fiercest
and most Zealous of the *Excluders* suppose him-
self in the Dukes Place, that he was Heir to
such a Jewel as a Crown, to so Rich and Valu-
able an Inheritance as three Kingdoms are, and
that he had done nothing, which either by any
Divine or Humane Law yet extant, made a
Forfeiture of that Right and Inheritance, and
that those whom he had never Injured, or of-
fer'd any Just Offence to, were Confederate
against him, and contended with all their Zeal
and Industry to have a Law made to Bar his
Claim, and Deprive him of the Possession of it,
if it should by course of Nature descend to
him, how would he take such usage? What
would he think of them that Treated him so?
would he not fill Heaven and Earth with his
Complaints? Cry out that Justice and Honesty
had left the World, and Appeal to Heaven for
Succour, saying with the Royal Prophet, *Help*
me Lord, for there is not one Godly Man left, for
the Faithful (the Just and Honest) are diminished

Ps. 124,

from among the Children of Men: Surely thou hast seen it; for thou beholdest Ungodliness and Wrong. That thou mayest take the matter into thy Hand, the Poor committeth himself unto thee, for thou art the helper of the Friendless. Wilt thou have any thing to do with the stool of Wickedness, which imagineth mischief as a Law? Suffer me not, Oh Lord, to be Oppress'd and Ruin'd by the Counsels and Combinations of Wicked Men and Unjust, but stir up thy strength and come and help me. And if these would be his Thoughts and Resentments of such usage, when offer'd to himself, how abominably Wicked and Unjust is it for him and his Brethren to offer it to the Duke? This is apparently to Contemn and Violate this most equal, and therefore excellent Law of Christ, to do that to another which they would be most impatient of, if done to themselves.

Our Laws indeed Punish all sorts of Recusants, but then the Punishments they Inflict are Moderate, intended to Reform, not Ruin them: they deprive none of them of their *Birth-right*, and all their Possessions, but only of some part of them, and those Punishments are Just, and agreeable to this Rule, because they offer that Contempt and Disturbance to the Government, which if they were in Authority, they would not have others do to them. 'Tis certain that neither Popery nor Presbytery, where they are Establish'd, will give Toleration to any that Dissent from them; and if they will grant none to others, with what Face can they expect it themselves? Besides tis Evident that both these Fac-

tions,

tions, both formerly, and of late, have practis'd against the State, been guilty of horrid Treasons and Seditions, Murder'd the Glorious Father, (to go no higher) Plotted the Death and Destruction of the most Excellent Son, our present most Gracious Sovereign, which is the highest Violation of this Sacred Law of Christ; for would any of them, if he was King of these Nations, be content to be so used, as they Treat their Prince? would he be willing to have his Subjects take Arms against, and Conspire his Death? when he had given them all manner of Demonstrations of his Love and Care of them, sought to Oblige & Indear them by a Just, Merciful, & Peaceable Government? would he take it well to see them requite his high Affection with deadly Hatred, his tender care with contempt, his Royal Mercy & Justice, with Barbarous Cruelty & Villany? yet these things, this hard measure, have both the Papists & Fanaticks offer'd to their Prince, and therefore the Punishments which our Laws inflict upon them are Just, & they have no Cause of complaint against the Government; because it Corrects them with Mercy and Moderation, Punishes them less than their Crimes Deserve. 'tis Death indeed by our Law, for any of the Romish Priests and Jesuits to be found in *England*, but that Punishment is not inflicted on them for their Religion, but for their Irreligion and Wickedness, their frequent and execrable Treasons, their restless attempts against their Lives and Government, awaken'd and made it necessary for our Kings by Capital Punishments to deter such Traytors & Murderers

from entering their Dominions, who came upon the most Bloudy and Mischievous designs, either to Assassinate their sacred Persons, or to Seduce their People from their Allegiance, and Animate them to Rebel or take Arms against them. And therefore if the Romish Priests and Jesuites, who have nothing to do here, will venture to come, they can blame none but themselves, if they suffer for it, they receive the Reward of their Sin and Folly, but have no Injustice done them: If they stay away they are safe, but if they will Run into Danger when they need not, they Destroy themselves, fall into the Pit, are taken in the Snare, which they came to dig, and lay for their Prince, whose Natural Subjects they are, though they become Voluntary Vassals to a Foreign Power, that employs them against their own Prince, for whose Safety and Preservation, they ought by all Laws both Divine and Humane, to expose themselves to the greatest Dangers, freely Venture their own Lives to save his.

And seeing the *Excluders* attempt, and would do that to his Royal Highness, which our Laws do to no Ordinary Subject, meerly for his Religion, and which they would not have done to themselves, that attempt must needs be a manifest Affront to, and Violation of this Law of Christ, and therefore most Wicked and Unjust.

To say they are of the true, and the Duke (as a Papist) of the false Religion, makes no difference in the Case, because Christ excepts no Man, but Commands us to do to Men Indefinitely

finitely, that is to all Men, whether they be Orthodox, or otherwise, believe Aright, or Err from the Truth, Christians or Heathens, *All things whatsoever we would that they should do unto us.* And also because no Man that owns the Principles of Natural Religion, that believes there is a God, & Eternal Rewards & Punishments after this Life, will be a Disciple of that, which he is perswaded is a false Religion, and Renders the Salvation of them that are of it hazardous and doubtful; and seeing he thinks the Church and Religion he is of, to be true, and the best, though he be deceiv'd and thinks amiss, 'tis to lay aside both the Justice and Mercy, our Lord Requires of us, to Treat such a Person with the Rigour and Severity, which the *Excluders* offer to his Royal Highness, because he follows the best Light he hath, his Conscience, duly instructed by Scripture, explain'd and apply'd (as he apprehends) by Right Reason; for 'tis certain a Man can use but his best care in the choice of his Religion, that is, he can but Pray, and Read, and Meditate, and Obey, as far as he understands, and Consult the Learned, or Advise with those he thinks best able to direct him: but because all the Learned of the World are not of one Opinion, he must imploy his Reason to Judg which of them is in the Right, and if he do it sincerely, though he chuses amiss, mistakes his way, yet he is to be Pitied, not Ruin'd, to be Restored in the Spirit of Meekness, not Degraded nor Undone for following his Conscience. God (tis certain) will be Merciful to a Christian so Erring, and

therefore if Men be extreme to Mark what such an one doth amiss, they Treat him as they would not be used themselves, and so bid Defiance to this great Law of Christ, *all things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.*

Sr. Mat.
5. 44.

Compare it Secondly with that Noble Precept of our Lord, which requires all Christians to Love their Enemies, and you will soon see the Impiety of it, *I say unto you, Love your Enemies, Bless them that Curse you, do Good to them that Hate you, and Pray for them which Despitely use you, & Persecute you*; this is my Will and Pleasure, this I enjoin you, that you Love not only your Friends, or those that Love you, as the practice of the Jews and Heathens is, but your Enemies. what are our Enemies is fully declared in this Law, even they that Curse, and Hate, that Despitely use, and Persecute us: Every Man thinks him his Enemy, that offers any of these things to him, but he that doth them all is the worst, most Cruel and bitter Enemy any Man can have, and yet how bravely every Christian is to behave himself towards such an Enemy, our Lord tells us; he must Love or bear him good Will, desire his Welfare or Happiness, do him all the Good and Charitable Offices he can, Pray to God to give, or bestow all manner of Blessings upon him, and to Forgive all the Wrongs he hath done him. This, because it is a Duty that hath some Difficulty in it, he presseth us to the Performance of, with the most weighty and perswasive Arguments, *Love your Enemies, That ye may be the Children of*

Verf. 45.

of

of your Father which is in Heaven, for he maketh his Sun to Rise on the Evil, and on the Good, and sendeth Rain on the Just, and on the Unjust; hereby you will prove your selves to be the Children of God, shew that you resemble, or are like that most excellent Being, who is kind and bountiful to all Men, even the most Prophane and Wicked, that are his Enemies, and Discover themselves so to be, by their wilful and open contempt of his Laws, who though they received their Being, and all their Injoyments from his Bounty, will hardly give him a good Word, or pay him any Respect at all, but Blaspheeme oftner than they Praise him, Curse him more than they Pray unto him, Affront him oftner than they Adore him, and yet so admirable is his Goodness, that he not only lets such Vile and Ungrateful Wretches as these Live, and Enjoy the Light, though they are Unworthy of it, but showers down his Blessings upon them, gives them an equal share at least, if not greater Plenty of these outward Injoyments, than he Communicates to the Good and Righteous; Propose therefore his great example to your selves, think it your Glory to Love and do Good to your Enemies, because the God you Worship is pleased to Treat his so, and cannot but take great Delight in those brave and generous Souls that Imitate him therein, own them for his Children, and give them a Blessed Portion in his Heavenly Kingdom; but if you refuse to do this (saith Christ) you Dishonour me, and Degrade your selves, For if ye Love them which Love you, what Reward have ye? Do not even

even the Publicans the same? If you confine all your Love and Kindness to your Friends, to them that bear you good Will, and do you good Offices, you can expect but a small Reward from my Father & Me for such Love as this, it being that to which Nature it self inclines, and Common Gratitude prompts you: Besides, this Low and Abject Charity, which is produced and preserved by Mutual Offices of Friendship and Respect, Ranks you amongst the Worst and most Impious Men, the very Publicans, whom all the Pious Men of your Nation think such Scandalous Sinners, that they will have no Civil Commerce, much less any Religious Communion or Society with them. Thus our Lord Commands us to Love our Enemies, and these are the weighty Arguments with which he urgeth us to the doing of it.

Suppose then his Royal Highness be a Papist, and as such, an Enemy to us that profess the Reformed Religion, (though neither of these is Certain) must we not as our Lord here commands us, Love, and Bless, and do him Good, and Pray for him? yes certainly if we will be Christians, obey the Command of our Lord, imitate our Heavenly Father, and obtain the blessed Portion and Inheritance, which he hath provided for all his obedient Children. Consider then, you that would *Exclude* him, is your *Black Bill*, by which you would degrade him from his Honour, deprive him of his Birth-right, banish him his Native Country, any token of your Love to him? If this be your Kindness and Good-will, how cruel and implacable is your

your Enmity or Hatred? *Christian love or charity*, as St. Paul tells you, *suffereth long and is kind*, disposeth and obligeth the Soul in which it is, to suffer or bear injuries from others (especially his superiours) with patience and submission, will not allow him to think any evil of, or do any to them, but endeavour to melt and overcome them by kindness and good offices, by fair carriage, humble deportment, & respectful behaviour towards them : seeketh not his own safety by anothers danger, and rather suffer himself, than cause another to doe it unjustly, is so far from giving any unjust offence to any man, that he is slow to wrath, and not easily provok'd himself, or if he be so at any time, he is very placable, ready and willing to be reconcil'd. But your Charity (if it may be so called) would make the Duke suffer, and that most unjustly, that you may not do it your selves, would lay the most intolerable Burthen and Oppression upon him, that you may bear nothing your selves; and therefore is unkind and cruel, seeketh your own safety by his ruin, your own gain and benefit by his loss and injury, is so highly provoked upon bare suspicions and fears as not only to think and imagine, but to attempt and endeavour to do him the greatest evil or wrong that can be offer'd to him. So that instead, of loving, you hate him, instead of doing him good, you do him all the evil you can, and would do him more if you could, whereby you wilfully transgress and contemn this Noble and Royal Law of Christ, prove your selves not to be the
Children

Children of God, to have none of his Mercy and Goodness in you, because he gives the Sun and the Rain, temporal Blessings and Injoyments to his Enemys, but you (if you could bring your purpose about) would take from his Royal Highness (whom you suppose to be your Enemy) that temporal Right and Inheritance, which undoubtedly belongs to him, if he survive our present most Gracious Sovereign: Thereby also you that are by profession the best of Christians rank yourselves amongst the Publicans and Sinners; for they love their Friends and hate their Enemies, and so do you, *And if ye love them that love you, what thank have ye? for Sinners also love those that love them.*

St. Luke
6. 32.

Besides in this Law Christ commands us to Love those that are our Enemies, do actually Hate, and Curse, Dispitefully use and Persecute us, but the Duke hath done none of these things, hath not yet declared himself your Enemy by doing any of you any Injury and it may be never will; so that in Reason and Conscience you are obliged to Love, Honour, and Treat him as your Friend: But instead of that, you have most Uncharitably suspected him for your Enemy, when he gave you no cause to think him so, and upon that suspicion, behaved yourselves so Unjustly and Unhandsomely towards him, as is enough to make him your Enemy. though he were not, never intended so to be. Is this just and equal? Is this Christian practise, first to suspect or suppose a Prince to be your Enemy, and then offer

offer him such Injuries and Indignities as are so far from being Expressions of that Love, which Christ requires all that profess his Religion to bear to their Enemies, that they are Demonstrations of the blackest Malice, and most implacable Hatred? You should have stay'd till his Royal Highness had declared himself your Enemy, made it appear he Hated you by some Injurious or Unjust action, and when he had done it, you should not have suffered your selves to have been overcome with Evil, but have endeavour'd to overcome that Evil with Good: You should have remember'd what our Lord here requires of you, and seeing you profess your selves his Servants and Disciples, have done accordingly; for this New Way of loving your Enemy, by preferring a *Bill of Exclusion* against him, that is, by attempting to ruin him, is such a Token or Expression of your Love such a Pledge of your Kindness to him, that the Duke hath no reason to thank you for it, and is I am sure none of that love which our Lord requires us to bear to our Enemies. If this be your behaviour towards a suspected, how would you treat a known and open Enemy.

To say your Project of *Exclusion* is an act of real Charity to the Duke, as it would disable him from doing that injury to himself and others, which as a Papist he would do, if the Crown should descend to him, besides, that it is to Reproach him, is also to talk Idly, because Christ commands us to love our Enemies, that is, those that bear us ill-will, and do us Ill Offices, that hate us in their hearts, and in-
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Children of God, to have none of his Mercy and Goodness in you, because he gives the Sun and the Rain, temporal Blessings and Injoyments to his Enemys, but you (if you could bring your purpose about) would take from his Royal Highness (whom you suppose to be your Enemy) that temporal Right and Inheritance, which undoubtedly belongs to him, if he survive our present most Gracious Sovereign: Thereby also you that are by profession the best of Christians rank yourselves amongst the Publicans and Sinners; for they love their Friends and hate their Enemies, and so do you, *And if ye love them that love you, what thank have ye? for Sinners also love those that love them.*

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jure or wrong us in their actions, but by attempting to *Exclude the Duke*, instead of loving him as your Enemy, which is to all men of common sense a strange way of loving an Enemy, to take from him all power or ability so to be: and yet this is all the Kindness you have for his Royal Highness, that you would tie his hands, put the chains and fetters of Law upon him, and thereby instead of an Enemy make him your Friend, whether he will or no. This Love, if the Primitive Christians had been acquainted with it, would have saved abundance of their Lives, but alas tis New and of Yesterday, and therefore was not known nor heard of in their Days: The good Men Pray'd for their Enemies, Implor'd the Divine Goodness to Convert and Forgive them, patiently endured the Wrongs and Cruelties they offer'd them, like their Dearest Lord and Master, *when they were Reviled, they Reviled not again, when they Suffer'd they Threatned not, but Committed themselves to him that Judgeth Righteously*: or as St Paul describes their behaviour towards their Enemies, *being Reviled we Bless, being Persecuted we Suffer it, being Defamed we Intreat*: Not a word in all this of a *Bill of Exclusion* to Tame the Fierceness, Restrain the Cruelty of their Enemies, and take from them all Power to hurt them, this is the New Mode of Loving Enemies, or rather themselves. Speak the Truth then (as the old saying is) & shame the Devil! Why should you dissemble with the World? 'Tis Evident you have no Kindness for the Duke, but as Plain as any thing can be, that you Love your
selves

† Cor. 4.
12, 13.

selves so unreasonably, that you care not what becomes of him, can be content that he be Miserable and Ruin'd, so your own Dear selves be but Safe and Happy. It is indeed both Natural and Lawful for Men to Love themselves, but then they must so manage and conduct that Love, that it be without Injury or Harm to others, that whilst they are Kind to themselves, they be not Cruel and Unjust to, and thereby Haters of their Neighbour, as you prove your selves to be by this Project of *Exclusion*; and therefore call it, what it really is, not Christian Charity, but Injurious Enmity or Hatred: You would be asham'd (I believe) to Love all the other Papists, (which as such are your Enemies as well as the Duke, supposing him to be one) in this manner, to Love them so as to deprive them of their Birth-Rights; If not, this would Increase the Number of your Enemies, and make them more Desperate and Implacable against you, but it would be no Expression or Token of any true kindness to them, and if this be the Love which our Lord requires all Christians to shew to their Enemies, they would have thought themselves more beholden to him, if he had Commanded them to Hate, rather than to Love them in this manner.

Consider it Thirdly, in Reference to that great Duty, which our Lord makes the Condition of our being his Servants or Disciples, *If any Man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me.* If any Man will be a Christian, he must Renounce or Deny every thing that offers to tempt or dis-
swade

swade him from the Practice of that Piety and Holiness, which I require of him, and be content to undergo any Sufferings or Afflictions, that befall him in my Service, to part with every thing that is Dear to him in the World, when he cannot keep it without Violating my Laws, or any part of them, nay to submit to Death it self how shameful, Cruel, or Accursed soever it be, when he cannot Live without Sinning against me: This I expect of every one that Imbraceth my Religion, and whosoever performs this shall be no Loser by it, for I will Reward him with a glorious Crown, and perfect Happiness, and a never Dying Life in that Blessed place whither I go, when I have Finished the Work for which my Father sent me into this World.

But the *Excluders* instead of denying themselves, Renouncing or Quitting their own Right, Safety, or Profit, seek to secure it by denying the Duke his, instead of bearing the Cross, they would lay it upon him, make him Suffer, that they may not Suffer themselves, which is plainly to Renounce their Christianity to declare openly that they are none of Christs Disciples, *for if any Man (saith he) will come after me, (be my Servant or Disciple, that is, a Christian) let him deny himself and take up his Cross and follow me,* Cheerfully and Contentedly undergo any Sufferings or Afflictions, even Death it self, when he cannot avoid them without Sinning against me: But they are so far from doing it, that they would shift the Cross from themselves, and lay it upon his Royal Highness, chuse rather to be Persecutors, than the Persecuted,

cuted, and so instead of obtaining the Blessing promised to these, incur the Curse denounced against them; for all Persecutors, all that Oppress, Injure, and Unjustly punish any Person, are cruel and wicked Men, no good Man is, or can (whilst he continues so) be a Persecutor, It being Impossible to be good, and to hurt good Men, at the same time, and therefore he spoke well and wisely that said, *Boni viri* Episcop.
Martyres non faciunt, sed fiunt, good Men do not Syn: Dor.
make Martyrs, but are made so, tis the property Crudelis
of Wolves to Hurt, Tear, Dissipate, & Destroy, Iniquitas
and of the Sheep to be Torn & Destroy'd, p: 9:
and by being hurt themselves to profit and do good to others, which is also the property of true Christians, to be willing to profit others, and not only not to do hurt to any, and to preserve others (as far as they are able) from harm and injury, but also to do good to them that hurt them, and to overcome that Evil with Good.

But the Authors and Promoters of the *Bill of Exclusion* are so loath to be made Martyrs themselves, that they would make his Royal Highness so, if they could have their Wills, he should be the only Sufferer, bear all the load of their Injustice, and Oppression, and so they incur the Woe denounc'd by our Saviour against the Scribes and Pharisees, who Oppress'd others to Ease themselves, bound heavy Burthens upon Mens Backs, which they would not touch so much as with one of their Fingers. These Men are so far from being willing to endure hardship as good Souldiers of Christ Jesus, that they are for leading a soft and easie Life, are

continually upon the Watch to observe which way the Wind blows, or Danger threatens them, that they may, by any means Just or Unjust, block up all the Avenues, by which they have any Suspicion, it may make its approaches to them. No longer than Christ Hugs and Embraceth them, Dandles or sets them in his Lap, will they be his Disciples, if they be not Caress'd and Treated with all possible Expressions of Love and Indearment, away they Run from him, as if he was their greatest Enemy. They Suffer for Christ? They Aspire after the Crown of Martyrdom? They take up the Cross? They may do it that will for them, 'tis an Honour they are not Ambitious of, they are for Sleeping in a whole Skin, had rather never go to Heaven, than pass thither through much Tribulation, are so Scared at the Cross, that they think the worse of themselves every time they remember that they were signed with it at their Baptism, are affraid, lest as it puts them in mind, that they ought to bear it when it comes, it should also hasten its approach, make it come the sooner upon them, and so instead of an Imaginary, in the Event of things prove a real Cross to them.

Have not these Men strange Opinions of our Lord? Do they believe him able to Reward those, that do and suffer his Will, that Live Innocently, and Suffer patiently? No, no! they think him such a mean and petty Prince, that he cannot Remunerate the Faith and Patience of his Servants, and look upon all, that He and his Apostles have said in Favour of Suffering,

as absurd and unreasonable Assertions, for 'tis certain that they Pronounce the Pious-Sufferers Blessed, and call upon them to Rejoyce, and be exceeding glad of them : *Blessed are they* St. Mat. (saith our Lord) *that are Persecuted for Righteousness Sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* *Blessed are ye when Men shall Revile you, and Persecute you, and shall say all manner of Evil against you falsely for my Sake: Rejoyce and be exceeding Glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven, for so Persecuted they the Prophets which were before you.* Behold (saith St. James) *we count them happy which endure.* And if ye suffer for Righteousness sake, happy are ye (saith St. Peter) *and be not affraid of their Terrour, neither be troubled.* Beloved think it not strange concerning the Fiery Tryal, which is to Try you, as though some strange thing hapned unto you, But Rejoyce in as much as ye are Partakers of Christs Sufferings, that when his Glory shall be Revealed, ye may be Glad also with exceeding Joy. If ye be Reproached for the Name of Christ, Happy are ye, for the Spirit of Glory, and of God Resteth upon you. These words had such Influence upon the Primitive Christians, that they Courted Martyrdom with as Vehement and Longing desires, as ever the Ambitious did the Honours, or the Coverous the Riches of the World. When the most Cruel Edicts were Publish'd against them, they did not care to Fly, or Hide themselves from the Fury of their Persecutors ; when the (to others) Dreadful Sentence of Death was pass'd upon them, they gave their Judges Thanks ; in the midst of the most exquisite Torments they did

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Id. part
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183:

nothing but Sing and give Thanks, and Expired with Praises and Adorations of God. St. *Babylas* Bishop of *Antioch*, as he was led to Martyrdom, broke out into these words of Joy and Triumph, *Return unto thy Rest Oh my Soul! for the Lord hath dealt Bountifully with thee.* When *Liberatus* and his Monks, who Defended the Christian Faith against the Heresy of *Arrius*, were Condemn'd to be thrown bound into a Ship full of Faggots, and there to be burnt in the midst of the Sea, they Sung aloud this Hymn, *Glory be to God in the highest, Behold now is the acceptable time, behold now is the Day of Salvation, in which we Suffer Punishment for the Faith of our God.* St. *Ignatius*, as he was going to *Rome* to be Devour'd by Wild Beasts (that being the Death he was Condemn'd to, because he would not Renounce the Faith of Christ) thought the time long, and the way tedious, and express'd his passionate desire after it, *Oh (said he) that I might come to those wild beasts that are prepared for me, I heartily wish that I may presently meet with them, I would invite and encourage them speedily to devour me, and not be affraid to set upon me, as they have been to others, nay should they refuse it, I would even force them to it: I am concerned for nothing, either seen or unseen, more than to Enjoy Jesus Christ: Let Fire, and the Cross, and the rage of wild Beasts, the breaking of Bones, distortion of Members, bruising of the whole Body, yea all the punishments, which the Devil can invent, come upon me, so I may but Enjoy Jesus Christ.* When *Laurentius* the Deacon espied *Sixtus* the Bishop of *Rome* going to his Martyrdom, he burst out into tears, and passionately

sionately call'd to him, saying, *Whither, Oh my Father, art thou going without thy Son? Whither so fast, O Holy Bishop, without thy Deacon? Never didst thou use to offer Spiritual Sacrifice without thy Minister to attend thee, what have I done that might displease thee? hast thou ever found me degenerate and fearful? make Triall at least, whether thou hast chosen a fit Minister to wait upon thee.*

By this their admirable courage, patience, and constancy, they did the highest Honour to our Lord and his Religion, Shamed and Confuted all the Clamours, Reproaches, and false Accusations, that were brought against it, Convinced the wise or intelligent, that Christianity was a Divine and Holy Doctrine, because it inspired the Professors of it with such undaunted courage and greatness of mind, as made them despise, not only the pleasures and delight, but the terrours and miseries of the World, render'd them, not only content to Dye, but desirous of, and in love with Death, caus'd them, not only patiently to bear, but to Triumph and Rejoyce in those horrid Torments, which those that stood by trembled and were affrighted to see them Endure. This conduced mightily to the increasing the Church, brought in Numerous, or rather Innumerable Converts to it, till the greatest part of the World became Christian and humbly adored the Crucified Jesus. The care and concern of Christians then, consisted but of these two parts, to live without Sin, and to Dye without Murmours or Complaints; their Religion was

composed of these two admirable ingredients, Innocence & patience; this was their study, to let their Conversation be, as became the Gospel of Christ, and to be conformed, as much as they could, both to the Life and Sufferings of Jesus; They were neither so base, nor timorous, as to endeavour to shift the Cross from themselves, and lay it upon others, they scorn'd to do any unjust thing, to decline suffering, never attempted to deprive any Prince, because they knew him to be an Heathen, and feared he would be a Persecutor of them; This, this was their great care to live and dye in the Lord, to Glorify him by a pure and unspotted Life, & by a Pious or Godly Death.

Hereby also they gain'd great Honour to themselves, render'd their names and memories precious and immortal; for the Church was careful to do all Lawfull honour to the Saints or Martyrs, to those brave and worthy Persons, who living shin'd as lights in the World by their Exemplary vertues, and dying sealed the truth of Christianity with their Blood, had that ardent love for our Lord, that no dangers, nor sufferings, nor torments, nor miseries, could lessen or overcome that Zeal for his Religion, which no Injuries, Reproaches, nor Persecutions could Extinguish. The Christians used to meet at the place where such eminent Persons Suffer'd for the Faith, or where their Bodies, that were Slain for the Testimony of Jesus, were Interr'd, and make Orations in praise of them, commemorate their piety and sufferings, praise God for the
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excellent gifts and graces he confer'd upon them, and Exhort one another to transcribe or imitate their Faith; and Piety, and Patience.

But this was the least and meanest Part of their Reward, for as by Sufferings for Christ, they gain'd Honour in this, so a brighter Crown and greater Rewards in the other World; for it is Evident that our Lord in the Words I mentioned before, declares *that they which are Persecuted for Righteousness Sake, shall not only have a Reward, but a great Reward in the Kingdom of Heaven*, which must in Reason signifie something more than other Christians have, otherwise they that are not, would be as Blessed, as they that are Persecuted, nay more Happy, because they would (without being Miserable in this) obtain Crowns as Glorious, and Rewards as great as they in the other World: the Apostle also Affirms, *It is a Faithful saying, if we be Dead with him, we shall also Live with him, if we Suffer, we shall also Reign with him, if we Deny him, he also will Deny us*: And if they that Suffer with, or for, shall Reign with him, and they that deny him, to escape Suffering, shall be disown'd or deny'd by him, every Man, that believes he Reigns in Heaven, and considers what a Blessed & Desirable thing it is to Reign & be Glorifi'd there with him, instead of being Afrighted at it, will think it most Prudent and Reasonable to deny himself, take up his Cross, and follow him, to part with every thing that is Dear, to Suffer every thing that is Dreadful to him here, when he cannot keep the one, nor avoid the other without Sin, that he may obtain

Rom. 6.
18.

such a transcendent Reward, and so admirable or illustrious an Exaltation: This will Teach him to Reckon with St. Paul, *That the Sufferings of this present time, are not Worthy to be compared with the Glory that shall be Revealed in him; the present Suffering or Affliction, as he tells us elsewhere, being Light, and but for a Moment, but the Glory Great and Durable, a far more Exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory.*

Epist.
Martyri-
bus &
Confes.
Christ:
ad finem.

And as the Holy Scriptures make such High and Noble Offers to all that Suffer for Christ, so 'tis certain the Primitive Church (which was the best Expounder of Scripture) thought the Martyrs had a greater Reward than other Pious Christians, an Additional Coronet over and above the great Crown of Righteousness, and accordingly St. Cyprian speaks of two Crowns, *the one white, as the Gracious Recompence of good Works, of their pure and unspotted Lives, the other purple, as the Glorious Reward of their Dying for the Faith of Christ.* But however that is, the Apostle puts it out of doubt, that there are Degrees of Glory, and Different

1 Cor: 15:
41. 42.

Rewards in Heaven, *There is one Glory of the Sun, and another Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of the Stars; for one Star differeth from another Star in Glory, so also is the Resurrection of the Dead:* And if there be different Rewards after this Life, it is Reasonable to believe the Blessed Martyrs have the most sparkling Crowns, and the biggest Recompence in the Glorious Regions above, because they gave the highest Testimony of their Love and Zeal for Christ, by Dying for him.

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'Tis not then so Miserable and Despicable a thing, as the *Excluders* think it, to take up the Cross and follow Jesus, to suffer all manner of Injuries, Oppressions, Miseries, nay Death it self for his Sake, because he hath Promis'd great Rewards to them that do it, and having all Power both in Heaven and Earth, he must needs be able to accomplish, or make good that Promise. 'Tis true indeed, no Man ought to part with his Life, or Estate, when he can keep them Innocently; He Suffers as a Fool that doth it, when there is no Danger of Sinning, if he Suffer not; But to use any Unjust or Sinful Art to free our selves from Suffering, such as the Project of *Exclusion* is, must needs be highly Impious and Unchristian. For Gods Sake let us keep to the same Laws of Christ, do the thing that is Right, and leave the rest to his Watchful and Gracious Providence; then if we Suffer, our Innocence will be our Comfort and Support, and we shall have the Blessed hope of passing by Death to the Rich and most Happy Inheritance provided for us in Heaven. Let us Labour to be good, to lead the Pure and Pious Lives our Religion requires of us, and then we can have no Just Cause to Tremble or be Affraid to Dye: *The Living* (saith Solomon) *know that they must Dye, and that they can by no Art or Means avoid it*: And seeing we must do it, can we ever Dye more Honourably, Bravely, and Christianly, than for owning the Holy Faith and Religion of our Dear Redeemer, who gave himself to Death, the most bitter and shameful Death of the Cross for us? So that
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we have his Example to invite, the Noble Army of Martyrs to animate or encourage, and the great Rewards they are possess'd of to ingage us patiently to bear the Cross, when our Lord is pleas'd to send it.

'Tis certain that as the Laws now are, no Man can be deprived either of his Life or Estate, meerly for professing the Reform'd Religion; & therefore whilst they continue we are as safe and secure as we can desire to be : So that till they are changed, no Man can Suffer for that, and it will be a very difficult undertaking to change them, because the Laws in Favour of our Religion cannot be Abolish'd, or taken Off, but by consent of Parliament, and it will be no easie thing for a Popish Prince (if at any time such an one comes to the Crown) to get a Parliament that will do it, because the Knights and Burgesses that serve in Parliament (without whose consent, according to our present Constitution, no Laws can be either Made or Abolish'd) are not chose by the Prince, but by the People, who are so far from Electing Papists, that they are too prone to Chuse Men of the other Dangerous extreme, and so Ruin us that way. But if either the Prince should by his writ Summon, or the People so forget themselves as to Elect any Papists, yet when they are so Call'd and Elect-ed, they cannot Sit (as the Laws now are) till they have openly, and in the most solemn manner Renounced their Religion, which no Men of any Honour or Conscience will do : If it be said they may have Dispensations from his Holiness to take any Oaths, and make any Decla-
rations

rations to Capacitate them to Sit in Parliament, I Demand of them that say so, why the Popish Lords, who left the House upon that Act, did not make use of that Expedient to evade the Law? there is no question but they might have had Dispensations to do it, and therefore their leaving the House satisfies me, that they thought no Dispensations could Warrant, or make it Lawful for them, so to Renounce and Abjure their Religion. We are as safe then already as Laws can make us, and they that are so busie to get new ones, trouble themselves to no purpose, for if those we have at present cannot secure our Religion, no other can do it. Whilst the Laws then continue as they are (and for my part I do not apprehend how they can be changed) we cannot Suffer, but if these (that are a Safe-guard and Defence to us) be at any time Removed, and the Bloody Laws in Favour of the Romish Church Restored, we must be content, as the Ancient and Modern Martyrs have done before us, to Suffer for the Truth, not doubting but he that calls us to them, will support us under our Sufferings, *not let us be tempted above what he will make us able to bear*, and Reward us abundantly for them in his Heavenly Kingdom: And how can we Murmur or Repine to bear that Cross, that will procure an Immortal Crown, or think that a sad and cruel Death, that will be our Conduct to a Blessed and Eternal Life?

Besides, this may be a means to restore our Nation to its ancient Piety, to recover it out of that deplorable Prophaness and Debauchery

bauchery into which it is lapsed; for the hypocrisy of the last Age hath produced open Atheism and Irreligion in this, and the merciful God having try'd to reclaim us by other means, and those very Sharp and Calamitous, as War, and Plague, and Fire, which effecting no cure or amendment upon the major part of the Nation, it may be his pleasure (before he utterly forsake or cast us off) to see what the patience and sufferings of Martyrs will do towards our Reformation; for this was the great instrument of converting the World from Heathenism to Christianity, and therefore may be very effectual to reduce Christians by Profession, from Heathen to Christian Practise, to ingage them to live up to the excellent rules of their Religion; for when lewd and vicious Persons see wise and good Men chuse rather to dye, than to do wicked and unlawful things, prefer their happiness in the other, before all their enioyments, in this World, chearefully leave all that is dear to them upon Earth, in hopes to reign with their Lord and Saviour in Heaven, though they do at first like those fools the wise Man speaks of, *account their life Madness, and their end to be without Honour*, yet when they come to consider better of it, they will conclude there is great danger in Sin, because such wise persons would not commit it, to save so precious Jewels as their lives, but chose rather to dye innocent, than to live prophane and wicked, be convinced there are great rewards provided for the Righteous after this Life, because Men so intelligent would not but upon good grounds, and the most rational evidence
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be perswaded to do so great, and suffer so dreadful things in hope of obtaining them: And when they see with what admirable courage, invincible patience, undaunted resolution, perceive with what transports of joy they go to their Death, kissing the stake, and courting the flames prepared to consume their Bodies, because they look for a blessed Resurrection, and believe their souls will ascend by them, like *Elijah* in his fiery Chariot, to the Mansions of Glory, This produces in them an high esteem and admiration of true Piety and Holiness, because they effect such admirable things, and from admiring them in these, they proceed to love and practise them themselves, *that being holy in all manner of conversation, as he that hath called them is holy*, they may be fit to Suffer for, and to Reign with him in Heavenly bliss and happiness. So that the sufferings of the just are Instruments to convert the Wicked: and from the Piety they practised in their Life; and the patience they shew'd at their Death, they learn to lead a good and Christian Life, the casting them into the Fire (though contrary to the mind or intention of the barbarous Persecutors,) is a means to enlighten others, and they that came to see the blessed Martyr Dye, go away confirm'd or settled in the Faith, nay resolv'd to dye for it. Thus the Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church, bringing forth by the blessing of God a plentiful Harvest of new Converts; and therefore, as it is a most wicked, so it is a most imprudent attempt to endeavour to destroy the true Religion, by Persecuting

secuting and putting the most eminent professors of it to Death, because their Sufferings invite and allure others to it, and drive none but Hypocrites, and weak or foolish People from it.

'Tis your Wisdom then as well as duty to suffer Innocently, rather than to decline it sinfully, to bear the Cross your selves, rather than lay it so unjustly upon his Royal Highness, because our Lord pronounceth that blessed, and promiseth a great Reward to them that do it, but this hath a curse denounc'd against it, will bring the most fearful punishment upon them that are guilty of it; by that you will shew your selves Christians, this will prove you Persecutors; for they that oppress and wrong others, upon what colour or pretence soever they do it, are any thing rather than Christians, & instead of being number'd amongst the Righteous, shall have their Portion amongst the Cruel and Unjust, be the objects of his wrath & displeasure,

Pf. 7: 14:

Who ordaineth his Arrows against the Persecutors.

Rom: 3: 8:

Compare it Lastly with that Assertion of St. Paul, that *no Evil must be done that good may come*, and both the Sinfulness and Danger of your *Project of Exclusion*, will be very Evident; for of them that do Evil, that good may come, the Apostle saith, *Their Damnation is Just*: They shall (without Repentance) be Punish'd Eternally for it, and it is Just they be so Punish'd. By Evil, the Apostle means Moral Evil, the Evil of Sin, any thing that is absolutely or in its own Nature Sinful and Wicked, no such Evil as this may ever be done for the attaining any good whatsoever; if it be, the Apostle tells them

them that do it, what they are to expect from God, as their Recompence, even *Just Damnation*: We know not any greater good (saith that excellent Casuist, Bishop Sanderson) than the *Glory of God*, we scarce know a lesser Sin (if any Sin may be accounted little) than an Harmless, Officious lye, yet may not this be done, no not for that! will you speak Wickedly for God, and talk Deceit-fully for him. If not for the Glory of God, then certainly not for any Inferiour end, not for the saving of a Life, not for the Conversion of a Soul, not for the Peace of a Church, and (if even that were possible too) not for the Redemption of a World, no Intention of any end can warrant the choice of Sinful means to compass it: But your attempt to Exclude his Royal Highness from Succeeding his present Majesty, is the committing great and manifest Oppression and Injustice, the Robbing an Innocent person of his Right, the Doing that to him, which you would not have Done to your selves, and therefore absolutely, or in its own Nature Sinful, Wicked, and Unlawful; and it is intended for a good end, to preserve the King and the Establish'd Religion from the Impious Attempts of the Church of *Rome* to Destroy both: So that you do Evil, a great Evil, an Evil Aggravated (as I said before) by the Dignity of the Person against whom it is committed, and by the Transcendent Worth or Value of the Right, or Property you would so Unjustly Rob or spoyl him of, This great evil you do, that good may come; therefore if you will believe the Apostle, without Repentance, your Doom is Dam-

Sermon

2d: pa: 302

Job: 13: 7:

Damnation, the Dreadful, but yet as he calls it, Just Sentence, which you are to expect from the Righteous Jugg, who is no respecter of Persons, but perfectly hates, and will severely Punish all Wilful and Presumptuous Sin in all the Actors of it, be they Publick or Private, Persons in Authority, or not, whatever they be, if they do Unjustly, the Vengeance of God will be sure to pursue and overtake them. The Distinction of Papist and Protestant make no difference in the Case ; if a Papist do any Wicked or Unjust thing, invade the Estate, Assassinate, or take away the Life of any Protestant as an Heretick, though it be done with an Intention, that good may come, or accrue to the Catholick cause by it, still he is a Thief and a Murderer, and therefore the Just God will Inflict the most Dreadful Punishment or Damnation upon him : And if on the other side, any Protestant, or Company of Protestants, for the preventing of Popery, do Injury to, or Unjustly deprive any Papist of his Right and Property, as an Idolater, that, or those Protestants, notwithstanding the good end they propound to themselves in it, are Injurious and Oppressors, and must look, that the Vengeance of God will come upon them here, and that without Repentance their Portion will be amongst the Unjust hereafter. And if there be any odds in the guilt, it is on the Protestants side, such an one thus offending being more inexcusable than a Papist, because he hath better means of Instruction, for he hath the Holy Scriptures in a Language he understands to shew him the Right Pathes, the ways of Justice and Honesty, and
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he acknowledges them to be the sole Rule by which he is to order and conduct his Life and Actions, and therefore if he do any Unjust thing, he hath no Apology nor Excuse for it: But most Papiſts are deprived of this advantage, they have not the Scriptures in a Language they understand, and therefore are not ſo well Inſtructed in the Duty that God requires of them, neither do they own them to be their Rule without Traditions, or the Unwritten Word of God, which their Guides have both the Keeping and Expounding of, and therefore they may eaſily be Impos'd upon, told that is Juſt, or a Part of their Duty, which is quite contrary to it, and ſo offend Ignorantly, which doth ſomething extenuate or leſſen their Guilt.

Suppoſing then (what you take for granted) that your *Bill* to ſet aſide the Duke would be for the good of the Nation, yet, it being abſolutely Unjuſt and Sinful, it is to *do evil that good may come, and therefore*, if St. Paul ſay true, *juſtly Damnable*.

But what if you be miſtaken? What if it be not for the good, but the injury, and hurt, the miſchief, and Ruin of the Nation? If thus, then you do Evil, & no good comes of it, commit a great Sin to your own Eternal, and the Peoples Temporal Ruin and Deſtruction, ſo that inſtead of Bleſſing & Praiſing, they will have Juſt Cauſe to Revile and Curſe you for it.

For let us ſuppoſe your *Bill of Excluſion* paſſed into a Law, and his Royal Highneſs thereby deprived (as far as that can do it) of

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his Right: Will he sit down patiently under so great an Injury? I believe him so Brave and Just a Prince, that such a Wrong (though it would be a mighty Temptation) could not provoke him to cast off either his Affection or Allegiance to the King; but yet (if the Duke be, as you suppose him, a Papist) it would exasperate all the Roman Catholicks against the King, excite their Rage, prompt them to Revenge the Injury done to a Prince of their Religion, make them Desperate, watch all Opportunities, try all ways to Assassinate and Destroy him. We see to our Horrour and Amazement, how the Kings most Just Refusal to consent to that Impious Project of *Exclusion*, hath Irritated the Zealous Faction, blown up their Rage and Malice to that Damnable height, that they had design'd a more Dreadful *Exclusion*, to send the King himself, and his Royal Brother out of the World, by a most Cruel and Barbarous Death, that what their Wicked Votes could not, their Murdering Bullets should Effect, had not the Watchful Providence, and the Adorable Goodness of our God Preserved the Royal Victims appointed for the Slaughter, and by a mighty hand Rescued them from the Snare, and the Ruin laid for them; and I take his Majesties Deliverance from this Hellish Conspiracy, as a Remarkable Token of Gods Approbation, and Reward of his Royal Justice and Integrity in Refusing the *Bill*.

And if the Kings just denying his assent to it, could so provoke and enrage the admirers of it against him, how would the passing of it have
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Irritated and Rows'd the Romish Faction? Would they not have fill'd Heaven and Earth with Complaints of, and Outcries against it? Have Publish'd Invectives, and Proclaim'd the Wickedness of it to all the Christian World, to the perpetual Reproach and Dishonour of our Nation, nay have meditated Revenge, enter'd into the most Dangerous Confederacies, and took Counsel together to Destroy the King, for to such Black and Cursed attempts as these, they are, God knows, too Prone and Inclind, when they have no Just Provocation given them to Instigate or Prompt them thereunto; But this (in their Apprehension) would have Justifi'd all manner of Treasons and Conspiracies, made them not only Lawful, but in the highest Degree Meritorious, they would have thought they did God the best and most acceptable Service, when they cut off so Unjust a Prince, who was so Cruel and Injurious as to deprive his own, nay his only Brother, of so great and undoubted a Right:

'Tis certain this would have put them upon frequent Treasons, and Attempts against the King, and who knows but it might have provoked that God, who Loveth Righteousness, and hateth Iniquity or Unjust Dealing, (if not more, yet at least as much in Princes as other Men,) to withdraw his Watchful Providence, and Gracious Protection from him, to dismiss that Guard of Angels, which have hitherto Defended his Sacred Person, and most Precious Life, from all those Bloudy Villains, of what

The Grand Expedient Examined.

Sect or Profession soever, that have Ventured to Attempt any thing against it.

So that your *Bill of Exclusion*, instead of Preserving, would have Indangered the King, instead of being a Safe-guard and Defence to him, would have exposed his most Sacred Majesty to Popish Rage and Cruelty, nay, which is Infinitely more Dreadful, to the Divine Anger or Displeasure; And being not for the Safety of the King, it cannot be for the good of the People.

Besides, as it would be the Mother of Secret Conspiracies, so in all Probability it would produce open Attempts, Cruel Wars, and Hostile Invasions of the Nation: For his Holiness would Aggravate the Injury done by it to the Catholick Faith, and a Prince (as you believe) Converted to it, Imploy all his Interest and Authority with the Princes Professing it, to Revenge the Indignity, to Unite their Forces to Punish and Destroy so Impious a Nation, that contrary to all Laws Divine and Humane, all Religion and Honesty, had Disinherited or Deprived a Brave and Innocent Prince of his Right: So that this Act would have Rob'd our Nation of all its Honour, Safety, and Tranquility, and we should have been in continual Fear of Popish Plots and Insurrections at home, and Invasions from abroad, and must for our Security have had a Constant Fleet at Sea, and a Standing Army at Land, which would exceedingly Impoverish and Exhaust the People; for the Distractions would be so great, the Taxes and Impositions so heavy, that Trade would have been little or inconsiderable; and the Charges

Charges or Expences high; Souldiers cannot Live without their Pay, and are apt both to Plunder and Mutiny if they have it not, and how should the People get Money to pay them, when Trade, that is the only Means to bring it in, is stop'd and decay'd. We cannot forget what an Intolerable Burthen and Oppression to the Nation the Rebel Army was in the late times; for many Families were utterly Begger'd and Ruin'd by it, and others so Sunk and Crush'd in their Estates, that they have hardly yet Repaired the Losses they then Sustained: That Army like the Catterpillers and Locusts of *Egypt* Devour'd every Green thing, greatly Consumed or Exhausted the Wealth of the Nation, and when it pleased God of his Infinite Goodness to Restore his Majesty, what vast Sums, and a mighty Treasure, were expended to purchase our Deliverance from those Harpies? But this *Bill* of yours would have Return'd us to our former Slavery and Misery, it would have been a great and certain Charge, but no sure Defence or Security to the Nation; For by what Arts or Means could Papists be prevented or kept, not only from having Commands, but from Listing themselves in this new Army? 'Tis true indeed, the Known and Eminent Papists might easily be rejected or shut out, but are there no Secret Papists, none that Entertain the Romish Faith in their Hearts, though they do not Confess it to any but their own Party with their Mouths? How then shall such Recusants as these be Convicted or Found out? Will you tender them the Oaths of Alle-

giance and Supremacy, require them to receive the Blessed Sacrament according to the Custom of the Church of *England*, and to be present at the Publick Prayers? For all these things, you believe, they may have Dispensations from the Pope! And being many of them what they are neither known nor suspected to be, Wolves in Sheeps Clothing, Papists in Heart, Protestants in outward Appearance and Profession, they must needs be the more Dangerous, and have the greater Opportunity to do mischief, and so we shall give Men wages to Destroy us, Arm our Enemies instead of our Friends, who instead of using them in Defence of the King, will Employ them against him.

But suppose none of all this to happen, but all this new Army, when they are Listed, be true to the King, and the Establish'd Religion, yet what Assurance can there be they will continue so? Did never any Desert their Religion, nor Depart from their Allegiance in hopes of Gain and Advancement? Are Souldiers generally Men of that Conscience and Integrity, as to Refuse a Bribe? To draw their Swords and Kill the Wicked Men, that Tempt their Faith with Golden Offers, and Tender them ready Money, if they will promise their Assistance, when it is requir'd? If they be, all Histories belie, and he did them great Injury, that said, *There is no Truth nor Honesty in them that follow the Campe.*

And if his Royal Highness should Survive the King, would this *Bill of yours*, if it were pass'd into a Law, Scare him from Demanding and En-

Endeavouring to Obtain the Crown, or Deter the Army (if they had any Inclination to it) from affording him their Assistance to gain that Right, which was so Unjustly and Wrongfully taken from him? Would he not have a great part of *Europe* to joyn with him? If he be what you suppose him, *Italy*, and *France*, and *Spain*, would lend him their Valiant and Numerous Legions to Fight for him, besides all the Roman Catholicks, nay, all the Loyal Protestants in the Three Kingdoms would Venture their Lives to Seat him on the Royal Throne, which his Renowned Ancestors fill'd before him. So that when it came to the Tryal, this admired *Expedient* of yours would not Answer your Expectations, instead of a two Edged Sword to cut off Popery, it would prove a Wooden Dagger that could do no Feats at all: the Duke hath more Courage and Resolution than to be Scared with such a Bug as that, and however you may flatter your selves, you would be too Weak to make Head against the mighty Forces with which he would Attaque you, the passing your *Bill* would in the highest degree provoke and exasperate him, but do neither You, nor the Nation any Service at all.

Now that which would be so Dangerous to the King, so Chargeable to the People, put them to vast Expence, and all to no purpose, cannot be for the the good of the Nation; and therefore your Project of *Exclusion* would be a doing *Evil*, not that *Good* (as you suppose) but that *Evil*, *Mischief*, and *Ruin* may come, and

so you Transgress or Sin for no Benefit or Advantage, but as most Offenders do, to your Ruin here, and Destruction hereafter.

It deserves also to be consider'd, whether this *Device* would not be so highly Pernicious and Mischievous as to change the Monarchy, from being *Successive*, to be *Elective*, that is, from the best to the worst sort of Monarchy? I cannot see but it would; for to pass this *Bill* into a Law, is in effect to give the House of Commons the Donation or Disposal of the Crown; for if they Disinherit One, why may they not Deprive a Second, and a Third of the Royal Family, and make as many *Bills of Exclusion* as they Please? for whenever they take Offence, or entertain Prejudice against the next Heir, 'tis but preferring such a *Bill* against him, branding him with the hateful Name of Papist, Votting him an Enemy to the Nation, Loading him with Black and Odious Accusations, whether true or false it matters not, so they do but seem to believe them themselves, and can but perswade the People to believe them, which is an easie thing to do, because they are Naturally Suspicious, very Prone to entertain Ill Opinions of those that do, or are to Govern or Rule over them, and having gain'd the Multitude, 'tis but Watching Opportunities, taking Advantage of the Kings Necessities, when his great Affairs require supplies, to give him none, till he pass the *Excluding Bill*. In this Case what can the King do? If he Dissolves them, and calls another, the People will Elect them again, and Encouraged by their adhering to them, they will be more Resolute

Resolute, and Importunate, till they gain their point, and by their immoveable Obstinacy tire out the Royal Patience, and so force it to yeild, which they may do as often as they please, and the doing of it will both entail War and Misery upon the Nation, unless we will be so unreasonable, as to suppose that the *Excluded* Princes will be so Cowardly and Poor Spirited, as to sit down Patiently under so great an Injury, and not Attempt to recover by Arms that Right, which was so Unjustly taken from them; and also make the Monarchy Elective, which is upon Divers Accounts the worst sort of Monarchy.

First, as it Tempts the Prince Reigning to use all kind of Arts and Means to Enrich himself, and fill his Royal Treasury; for being uncertain whether any of his Children and Descendents shall be Elected in his place, when he retires into the shades of Death, that Natural Affection for, and Care of his Royal Issue, which is Common to Kings as well as other Fathers, will strongly incline and prompt him to Watch all Opportunities, to cast about and contrive all ways to amass all the Wealth and Treasure he can, that if he be desirous his Son should succeed him, he may leave him Money enough to bribe the Electors, or if he do not design that, yet that he may provide for all his Children so, that they may Live in that State, Honour, and Magnificence, which become the Off-spring of a King, and will cast no Contempt nor Reproach upon him, when he is Dead and gone.

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This will produce frequent Oppressions of the People, and the most grievous Rapines and Exactions, expose all Places and Offices, Sacred, Civil, and Military, to Sale ; so that they who have nothing but Money to Recommend them, shall be prefer'd, and Honest and Deserving Men, that have either less Money or more Conscience than to give Bribes, will be Rejected, or put by, to the great injury or damage of the State : And they that pay dear for their Places will be sure to make the most they can of them, both because they cost them so, and they are uncertain how long they shall hold them, Princes being Mortal as well as other Men, and when they Dye, most, if not all the Preferments and great Places they enjoy under, Dye with them.

The publick Treasure also, instead of being Employ'd for the Common good, will be Converted to the Princes private use: when other Nations do Injury and Violence to his Subjects, and he seems to be Offended at it, and it may be really is so, and Aggravates the wrong to draw Money from the People, under pretence of Revenging of it, yet having got it into his hands, he only talks high, threatens them that did the Injury, expostulates the Case, upbraids them with their Unjust Dealing, or it may be demands Reparation, whereupon if they acknowledge their Errour, and promise to be Just for the future, he puts up the Injury, though never so Grievous or Ruinous to his own Subjects, and fills his Coffers with the Treasure, that was given him to do them Right. To such
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mean and unbecoming shifts are Elective Monarchs tempted, which must needs enrage their People, and put them upon frequent Tumults and Insurrections, for being impoverish'd and exhausted by continual Rapines, and Oppressions they grow Desperate, Resolve to Venture their Lives, nay, which are infinitely more precious, their Souls (Rebellion being a most horrid and damnable Sin) to revenge the Injuries done them by their Prince, who instead of a Father is so unjust and injurious to them : By which means both the Prince and People Suffer, They in their Estates and Properties, He in his Honour , Safety , and Tranquillity. And that must needs be a miserable and distemper'd State, where neither Prince nor People are safe and happy, but he makes a Prey of them, and they watch their opportunity to Depose and Ruin him.

But these mischiefs, and miseries are not so incident to Successive Monarchies, rightly Constituted, as our is, for when the Prince knows, and is assured, that the Crown shall descend to his Royal Off-spring, (if he have any,) or to the next of his Family, he hath no temptation to oppress his People, no necessity to use any unworthy Arts to enrich himself, to fill his Coffers with the Treasures of unrighteousness: He prefers the publick good before his private gain, his Subjects are secured in their Rights and Properties, protected from the Injuries and Violence of Forreigners, and from Rapines and Oppressions at home. The Prince is careful by a just and merciful Government to preserve

serve his own, and the Honour of his Family ; that the admirable Vertues of his Illustrious Predecessors may raise the Expectation, and indear the Affection of the People to the next Heir, take from them all doubt or fear but he will prove a brave Prince, because Descended from the best of Kings, who did not only (as far as Mortals can do it) resemble God in Power & Greatness, but in Justice, Mercy, Clemency & Goodness, nothing being so great an Incentive, so mighty a provocation, so prevailing an inducement to ingage a young Prince to be Just & Vertuous, as that his Ancestors were so before him, & he will blush to Inherit their greatness, if he be not Studious to transcribe & imitate their Royal Goodness. This hath been remarkably verifi'd or fulfill'd in our present most Gracious Sovereign, & the three fore-going Princes, who did not only transmit the Crown, but their incomparable Vertues to one another. As for that Renowned Princess, Queen *Elizabeth*, her Royal Vertues have imbalmed her Memory, render'd it sweet and precious to the *English* Nation, and she will be remember'd with Honour by late and still distant Ages : Some few things indeed seem a little to cloud the Glory of her Reign, but they are nothing in respect of the Great, Numerous, and Eminent Blessings the Nation enjoy'd under her wise, and wary Government ; those possibly were extorted from her by the difficulty of the Times, and the necessity of her Affairs, and the misguided Zeal of some of her Favourites and Counsellors, but these made abundant recompence, or reparation for them,

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render'd her revered and admir'd all over the Christian World, insomuch that one of her Enemies Confess'd her to be the Bravest, most Glorious, and Fortunate Princess in the World.

Descend from her to King *James*, who Succeeded her, as in her Royal Dignity, so in all her Vertues, a Prince of admirable Wisdom, Justice, and Clemency, so great a Lover, so watchful a Preserver of Peace, that in his Reign the Nation grew vastly Rich, and abounded so in Treasure, as if the precious Mines had been removed from the *Indies* hither. What shall I say of King *Charles* the First? No Eloquence can describe all his Excellencies, no Commendations reach his transcendent Vertues, they are fitter for our silent Admiration, than our imperfect and unequal Praises; never any Mortal approach'd nearer to Him, who was more than Man, even God manifest in the Flesh, whilst he Lived he was a Saint upon Earth, and dying was number'd amongst the prime Saints in Heaven, His Enemies were such as are always Enemies to God and all goodness, (that is) the Devil and his Agents, and they that deposed, and took away his precious Life, would have done the same execrable Violence and Injury to the Son of God himself, if he had fallen into their Barbarous and Bloody Hands. And our present most Gracious Sovereign is equal to any of his Renowned Ancestors in the Princely Vertues of Wisdom, Fortitude, Justice, Mercy, Peacefulness, and the admirable sweetness and goodness of his Temper. So that I may Challenge all the World to shew me four such Princesses

ces, one after another, in any Elective Monarchy, so Zealous Defenders of the true Religion, so Tender of their Subjects Welfare, such Bountiful Patrons and Benefactors to them, that they did what they could to preserve them in Peace, Piety, and Plenty, And if in any of their Reigns, any of the People Suffer'd, and were Miserable, it was not the Princes Injustice that made them so, but either their own, or their fellow Subjects Stubbornness, Disobedience, and Turbulent or Ungovernable Temper, that brought Calamity and Ruin upon them. And seeing Elective Princes have more, and greater Temptations to Oppress and Injure their Subjects than those that are Successive, the Elective must needs be the worst sort of Monarchy.

And it is so, Secondly, because exposed to manifold Factions, Discontents, Quarrels, and Dangers: We see to what Heats, Factions, and Disorders, far inferiour Elections are subject, that they who are to chuse a Parliament Man for a County, or a Burgess for a Corporation, cannot all Agree or Fix upon a Person, but Run into Parties and Factions, one side being fierce and eager for one Man, and the other for another, till they grow angry and enraged, hate and revile one another, proceed from words to blows, and would break out into open Hostility, were there not a Superiour Authority, to which they are accountable for such disorders, and therefore stand in awe of. How much more apt to Feuds and Quarrels, to Factions and Discontents may they be reasonably supposed to be, that have the Disposál

of such a Jewel as a Crown, and whose Votes are of that moment and concern, as to confer so precious, and by all, admired a Treasure, as a Kingdom, and have none to awe or pacifie them, the Electors (during the *Interregnum*) being the chief and most courted Persons of the Kingdom, and may (unless limited by Law) Protract or Spin out the Election as long as they please, and accordingly as they are Byassed by Affection, or Interest, which may be of Dangerous Consequence to the Kingdom; For if any Neighbouring Prince prompted either by his Ambition, or provoked by Injuries formerly receiv'd, take that Opportunity to Invade them, whilst they are debating and quarrelling amongst themselves who shall be King, they are in all probability surpris'd and ruin'd; for either they must agree and finish the Election presently, (which the Prince that invades may easily prevent by bribing some of the Electors) or else they must imploy some great Person to defend the Kingdom, till they have done it: He, if he succeeds in his Expedition, and beats the Invader out, if he be not Elected King, calls them Ungrateful, thinks himself affronted, his good Service slighted or contemned, & having the Army under his Command may easily work upon them by gifts at present, and promises of doing great things for them afterwards, to afford him their Assistance to make him King, by which means the Kingdom is imbroy'd, stain'd with the Blood, made miserable by the Slaughter and Destruction of the Inhabitants, by the Ruin of Cities, and Vastation or Spoyl of Provinces. But if on the other side the Electors
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chuse him King; then the other Grandees are discontented, and think they have the greatest injury done them, every one of them in his own Opinion esteeming himself, at least as deserving or worthy of a Crown, as the Prince Elected, and therefore to revenge the contempt put upon them, either break out into Rebellion, or invite the Invader to return, with offer of their assistance to possess him of the Kingdom: So that between Foreign Force, and Domestick Ambition, and Discontent, the poor People endure all the Calamities of War, and linger out a tedious Life, made so by frequent Oppressions, Terrours, and Discontents.

And as the People are miserable in Elective Monarchies, so the Prince is unsafe, for there is nothing that great Spirits are more Ambitious of than a Crown, and the Cardinals cannot possibly be more weary of a long Lived Pope, than most of the Grandees in an Elective Kingdom hate a long lived Prince; the reason is plain, because the Crown not being peculiar or appropriate to any one Family, the more frequent Vacancies there are, the greater hopes they have of being Elected, which is a mighty Temptation to Ambitious and Designing Men; to use all the Villanous and Accursed Arts they can, by Poyson, and other secret ways, to Destroy, or Take off the Prince, that they may fill his Throne, whom they have by the basest and most perfidious cruelty deprived of his Life and Kingdom. The last King of *Poland* lay under great Fears, and Apprehensions, that he should be Poyson'd, and his Suspicions of it were

were so strong and vehement, that all the Arguments his Friends could use, could not put them out of his Thoughts; what reason he had for those fears, I know not, nor can I tell whether his Death was procured by such detestable means, or no; but sure I am, that many think such execrable things lawful, *Regnandi causa*, to possess themselves of Empire and Sovereignty, and there is the greatest temptation to practice them in Elective Monarchies, because upon the decease of the Prince Reigning, every great Person in the Kingdom flatters himself, with hopes of Succeeding him.

But the Successive Monarchies are freer from all these Evils and Dangers, for upon the Death of the Royal Father, his Son, if he have any, or else the next of the Family, is King, which makes our Law say, the King never Dies, because upon the Decease of one, the next Heir is immediately King, the Ceremonies of Crowning and Anoynting do not confer the Royal Dignity upon him, but only declare him to be what he was as soon as his Predecessor was dead, that is, King, are no more but signs expressing to the People, that he is the person ordain'd by God to Govern, or Rule over them, and to whom he requires them to pay all due Honour, Loyalty, and Obedience. By this immediate Succession all those Factions are avoided, which often prove mischievous and Ruinous to the People, & so are all the Dangers & Miseries which attend an *Interregnum*, that may happen in the interval between the Death of one, and the Election of another Prince; no Forreign Enemy can have any encouragement

to invade the Kingdom upon the Death of the King, because the Royal Throne is fill'd by the next Heir, who succeeds immediately, and the People have a new Prince ready to protect and defend them (as the other did) from the Violence and Injuries of all their Enemies.

Nor are the People only happier, but the Prince also is safer than in the other sort of Monarchy, for the Crown when he dies descending to his Heirs, what temptation can any, that is not of the Royal Family, have to attempt any thing either against his Life or Government? If his Treason against the King himself should succeed, (as by the just Judgment of God such Villany seldom doth) unless he could destroy all the Royal Family, what is he the better? Will not they revenge the Parricide in this, and the righteous God Punish the Actor of it with the most horrible damnation in the other World? So that unless the Princes Enemies be those of his own House, and they that have a Title to the Crown, when he is Dead, conspire against, and make him away, which is more horrid, unnatural, and villanous than it can possibly be in any other Traytors, and that which, by the just Judgment of God, will bring the same barbarous and bloody fate upon themselves, for how can any Prince sit safe or easie upon that Throne, which he stain'd with the Blood of his Father, or Brother, or Kinsman? Will not the guilt and horror of his Fact terrifie and distract, make him affraid with *Cain*, that every Man that sees will slay him? How is it possible he should enjoy an happy day, or a quiet

quiet hour, that is haunted with an Evil Conscience, groans under the smart and anguish of it, and hath the guilt of Royal and Innocent Blood lying as an intolerable load and burthen upon his Soul? So that, excepting these, no other Traytors can have any Inducement or Encouragement to attempt the Princes Life, because they can propose to themselves no probable benefit, or advantage by it; for if their Treason prosper, and one of them seize, or possess himself of the Kingdom, he comes in as a Thief, and Murderer, and Usurper, and as such is abhorr'd by all the Honest and Loyal part of the Kingdom, who, to revenge the injury done to their Lawful Prince, will assist the next Heir against the Usurper, and his own party, by whose help he Kill'd, and took possession, prompted either by Envy at his Greatness, or by Discontent, as not thinking themselves sufficiently rewarded for the service they did him, will in a little time grow weary of, and lend their helping hands to destroy him. And being most obnoxious to Factions, Wars, and Treasons, the *Elective* must needs be the worst sort of Monarchy.

Now that which is Evil or Sinful in it self, and being done, cannot be defended without a standing Army, (if that can do it) which would impoverish and Ruin the Kingdom, and tends likewise to Subvert or change the Monarchy, is to sin or do evil for evils sake, which is the highest wickedness, and if their Damnation be just, as the Apostle says it is, that do evil, that good may come, theirs must needs be more just and

fearful, who do evil, that mischief, misery, and ruin may come both upon Prince and People.

Subsect 4.

But though this Device be contrary to Christian, yet it is, they plead, agreeable to Natural Justice, though the Law of Christ condemns, yet the Law of Nature (they say) allows and warrants it. This is a weak or idle pretence, for is not Christianity a perfect Digest or Body of the Law of Nature? doth it not contain all the practical dictates of Right Reason? That it is, and doth, may be proved from the great end of, and the things contained in both these Laws: from the great end of them, for is it the prime or chief design of the Law of Nature to promote the common good of all Rational Beings, that is, the *Glory of God*, and the *Felicity of Mankind*? This is equally the design of the *Law of Christ*, which takes care, that God have his *Honour*, and that Men live *happily*: That God have his Honour, the Honour of Adoration, Love, and Imitation: The first, as it requires and directs, tells mankind they must Adore, or Worship the Glorious Author of their Being, and shews them how to do it acceptably, enjoyns the one with the highest Sanctions, Offers of the greatest rewards, if they pay unto God the Glory and Worship due unto him, Denunciations of the most dreadful punishments, if they neglect or refuse to do it: Describes the other (the right way of doing it) so plainly and intelligibly, that they cannot Err or Mistake in it, without their own fault, those words

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of Christ being a full and plain, both Precept, and Direction, for conducting this great Duty,
God is a Spirit, and they that Worship him must St. John
Worship him in Spirit and in Truth. 4. 14.

The honour of Love, by representing to us the transcendent Excellencies and Perfections of his Nature, his admirable Bounty and Beneficence to us, and the perfect Equity or Reasonableness of all his Precepts, that the first may produce in us a due esteem and admiration of him, the second ingage us to the choice of him, prompt us to the pursuit of him as our happiness, and oblige us to make him all the grateful returns we are able ; the third excite and endear our Obedience to him.

The honour of imitation, that we transcribe his excellencies and perfections as far as we can, be *mercifully as our heavenly father is merciful, and holy as he is holy*, express in our actions, such a conformity to his Purity, Justice, Benignity, and universal kindness to his Creatures, especially the Rational, *that Men may See our good works, and Glorise our Father which is in Heaven*, because this shews the mighty value and esteem we have for him, is an open Declaration, that we think him the most excellent Being, whom it is our honour as well as duty to resemble, and therefore is the highest Glorification of him.

Christianity too promotes the *Felicity of Mankind*, and that so fully or perfectly, that if they would intirely comply with it, they could not possibly be miserable. Their Happiness single or a part, and as conjoyn'd or united in Societies : Every Man that obeys or lives up to the

Law of Christ, is therefore happy, because he enjoys the sweetest peace and tranquillity of mind, his appetites and passions are so restrain'd, and subdued, as to create him no trouble nor vexation, they do not lead him into any of those evil practices, which being done, disturb, and wound the Soul, produce in it amazing fears and expectations of punishment, the virtues and good works he performs are sweet, and grateful to him, *all their ways are ways of pleasantness, and all their paths are peace*, afford his Soul its desired rest and satisfaction, he is neither ashamed in publick, nor afraid in private, but finds his actions so fair, and just, and agreeable to the dictates of right reason, that he is highly pleas'd every time he reflects upon them.

And as his obedience to the Law of Christ secures his inward, so it provides for his outward happiness; for every Man, that Lives as Christ requires him, hath his promise to assure him of all those Enjoyments, that are necessary to his well being upon Earth; his Piety towards the great Governour of the World, invites his Bounty, and calls down his Blessings upon him, and he that is so liberal to all the other Creatures, as to open his hand, and fill them with plenteousness, will not let those Nobler Beings, that Love, Adore, and Reverence him, want any thing that is good for them.

Besides, the several branches of the Law of Christ, the Vertues it commands us to practice, have a direct tendency this way: thus Temperance preserves our Health and Estates, makes

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our Lives both long, and provided for, and Justice is not only an Honour or Reputation, but a great Safeguard and Advantage to us; the Labour or Diligence Christianity enjoyns every Man to imploy in his calling, hath an apparent tendency, both to obtain these outward conveniencies of Life, and to improve or increase them, and the being Contented with the possessions that either descended to him by Inheritance, or which he acquired by the Blessing of God upon his labour and industry, affords him great Comfort and Delight, as it frees him from the vexations of Covetousness, the tediousness of Expectation, and Attendance, the grief and torment of Disappointment, and obliges him to an acquiescence and satisfaction in his present Enjoyments; he that is continually desiring and pursuing things which he apprehends to be necessary ingredients in his happiness, or the materials of which it is composed, must needs be miserable, because he hath not attained to, but is in pursuit of that which he calls his happiness, and is uncertain whether he shall ever be able to possess himself of it, but the contented Person is actually happy, because he hath reduced his desires to a complacency or delight in that which he is possessed of. And as these, so all the other parts of the *Christian Law*, are a present Blessing and Advantage to the Observers of them, as well as the Conditions of that Eternal Felicity which is to commence at the period of this life, there being such a necessary connexion between the Precepts of Christ, and the Rewards of his

Kingdom, that they who obey the one; shall certainly enjoy the other, and they must needs be Blessed to eternal Ages, that perform those noble things, to which our Lord hath promised that blessedness, both because he is faithful that hath promis'd, and that is the certain consequence or result of those.

So that consider'd single or a part, Christianity makes every Man happy that obeys, or lives according to it. It promotes the felicity of mankind also, as conjoyn'd or united in Societies, which are either private or publick, Families or Kingdoms.

The happiness of Families, by obliging Husbands to love, & treat their Wives with due tenderness, and respect, and them to reverence, obey, and be faithful to their Husbands, and to live together in peace and concord; by injoyning Parents (as nature prompts them) to take care of their Off-Spring, to Provide for, and Educate them in Piety and the Fear of God, and these to Honour, Obey, and (if by any of the misfortunes of the World they fall into want, as gratitude obliges them) to relieve their Parents; by requiring Servants to be faithful and obedient to their Masters, and these to be just, merciful, & compassionate to them, knowing they have a Master in Heaven, God Almighty, to whom they are answerable for all their Actions; for in the performance of these mutual Offices, the felicity or welfare of Families consists.

The happiness of Kingdoms, by obliging Princes to Govern with Mercy and Justice, to
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take care, that their People *lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty*, that they neither wrong one another, nor be injured by other Princes or States, but that they be protected both in their Persons, and Estates, from Violence and Oppression; by requiring the People to honour and obey their Princes, and all that are in Authority under them, to pray for their prosperity, to pay them Tribute, to Defend them with their Persons, and Estates, that no harm nor violence may happen to them; by Commanding all the People to Love, and deal Justly one with another, not to hurt or injure, but to Help and Succour, or as they have Opportunity to do good unto all Men, to put on Bowels of Mercies, Kindness, Humbleness of Mind, Meekness, long suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any Man have a quarrel against any, which are excellent Preservatives of that Peace and Unity, which they are Commanded to follow with all Men, and without which they cannot be happy.

And is not that an happy Kingdom, where the Prince Governs with Justice and Mercy, Preserves his People in Piety, Peace, and Safety, they Honour, Obey, and Serve him faithfully, deal Justly with, and Love one another, where there are no Cruelties nor Oppressions, no Treasons nor Seditions, no Hatred nor Contentions, but Justice, Loyalty, Peace and Charity Reign or Flourish? this must needs be an happy Kingdom, and the People Blessed that are in such a Case, and if Christianity was heartily and universally received and obey'd, it would make all
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the Kingdoms and Nations of the World so exceeding happy and blessed, not only conduct Men to Heaven when they Dye, but turn this Earth into a kind of Heaven to them whilst they Live.

And seeing Christianity prosecutes that which is the great design or tendency of the Law of Nature, the Common good of all Rational Beings, the Glory of God, and the Felicity of Mankind, 'tis reasonable to believe, that this is contained in that, That the Law of Christ is a perfect Digest or Body of the Law of Nature. This might be farther confirm'd by comparing things contained in both these great Laws, but this I need not do, because every Mans Reason will tell him, that these Laws, having the same Author, and the same end, must be the same in Substance, and agree in the Means ministering to that, which is equally the Design of both, for neither can God be Glorifi'd, nor Mankind made happy, any other way than that which Christianity directs, and the Glorious Author of it reduces to these two Heads, *the Love of God, and our Neighbour*, the first containing all those Expressions of Honour, which the Transcendent Excellencies and Perfections of the Divine Nature challenge from us, and all those grateful Returns, which as obliged Persons, we owe to our great Benefactor, the other comprehending all that Justice, Mercy, Charity, Temperance, and those other Vertues which conduce to our own, and the Common Felicity of Mankind, and are so absolutely necessary in order to it, that it cannot be attain'd without them.

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The Absurdities too, that are consequent to the denying of it, argue that the Law of Christ contains all those Moral Duties, to which Men are obliged by the Law of Nature, for if it doth not, then either the Law of Nature is abolish'd, or else God hath two contrary Laws in force at the same time: It cannot be abolish'd, because it is of Eternal Obligation, Men being for ever bound to the practice of Piety towards God, and of Justice to one another, because both these promote his Glory, and their Felicity. But if the Law of Nature be still in force, and doth not oblige us to the performance of that Piety and Justice, which the Law of Christ so strictly and expressly requires of us, then God hath two contrary Laws Obligatory at the same time, A Law that Commands us to Honour Him, and to deal Justly with all Men; and, A Law that Allows us to Dishonour him, and to be Unjust to them: For is not the Law of Nature a Law which God hath impress'd upon our Minds? And hath not the Law of Christ the same Blessed Author? And are they not both bound upon us by the same Rewards and Punishments, Peace and Satisfaction of Mind now, if we obey, Guilt and Horrour of Conscience at present, if we Violate or Transgress them, and by the Consequences of these, Eternal Felicity, or Misery after this Life? The Law of Nature and the Law of Christ, have the same Divine Original, God did by Christ instruct Mankind in all Ages of the World, *He* (saith a Reverend Person)

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Person) *Taught the Law of Nature to all men, and renewed it, and made a perfect Body of it, to last as long as our Nature lasts, and as long as this World, and his Kingdom abides. And being both of them his Laws, to say they do not require the same Moral Duties of us, is to say he hath two contrary Laws in force at the same time, which is to revile and reproach him ; for if he requires us to obey two contrary Laws at the same time, then he requires us to do what which is impossible, and so is neither wise nor just : I conclude therefore, that Christianity is a perfect Digest of the Law of Nature, or contains all the Moral Precepts of it : And if so, then whatever is unjust by the Law of Christ, must needs be equally so by the Law of Nature, and no Man may do any thing Contrary to that, because if he doth, he is a Transgressor of this.*

Besides, Christianity, 'tis certain, binds Men always to do that which is just (*to do unto others, that is, as they would be done unto themselves,*) and if the Law of Nature doth not oblige them to do so too, then God is the Author of an unjust Law, the Law of Nature being his Law, as well as the Christian, and then how is he Righteous in all his ways ?

And therefore it is most unreasonable to say, the *Bill of Exclusion*, (if it be contrary to *Christian Justice*, as I suppose I have proved it,) is agreeable to *Natural Justice*, nothing being Just by the *Law of Nature*, that is not so by the *Law of Christ*.

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But the truth is, the *Bill* is as contrary to the *Law of Nature*, as I have proved it to be to the *Law of Christ*. 'Tis contrary to the great Design of it, hath no tendency to promote the Honour of God, nor the Felicity of Mankind: not the first, because God cannot be Honour'd by any thing that he hath forbidden, and is Repugnant to the Integrity and Perfection of his Nature, but he forbids all Injustice and Oppression, is Righteous in all his ways, and Loves Righteousness in others, and it is for ever great and high Injustice for Men to do that to another, which they would not have done to themselves.

The *Bill*, if it was passed, would contribute nothing to the Felicity of Mankind in General, afford them no Benefit at all, but might in the consequences of it be Injurious to them all; for if one Man be unjustly deprived of his Right, they that have Power may offer the same Injury to a second and a third, nay to as many as they can, till at last Injustice and Oppression Reign every where. Besides, the Sufferings of one Prince expose all that are of that most High and Sacred Order to the like Danger, and if one Nation or People Disinherit the next Heir to the Crown, other Nations may take the same Measures, and offer the same Indignity and Injury to their Princes, which will fill the World with War and Misery, Blood and Destruction.

It would not be for the happiness of this Nation (as I have proved already) because it would bring a certain and present evil or mischief

chief upon it, to remove a remote and contingent one, is too weak a Remedy to effect the Cure it designs, and instead of keeping out Popery, would bring in War and Confusion, Desolation and Misery, and therefore is against Prudence, as well as the great Design of the Law of Nature.

Besides, that which is contrary to right Reason, is Repugnant to the Law of Nature, to Injure or make any Man Miserable, that hath not attempted to use others so, is contrary to right Reason, to Pass the *Bill* is to Injure or make the Duke Miserable (as far as a Law can do it) he hath not attempted any such thing towards others, therefore the *Bill* is Repugnant to the Law of Nature. To say he will do it, if he comes to the Crown, is a Rash, Groundless, and Uncharitable Assertion, because he can have no reason to do it, it being not for his Honour, nor his Happiness, either in this World or the other, to Injure or make them he Governs Miserable.

'Tis agreeable to that Justice, Candour, and Ingenuity, to which we are obliged as Rational and Sociable Creatures, to think that Person intends us no Injury, that neither by his Words nor Actions discovers a Malevolent Mind towards us, the Duke hath neither of these ways discover'd such a Mind towards us, therefore we are obliged to think he intends us no Injury. If it be said, he holds no Religious Communion with us, and that is a sufficient Indication that he bears a Malevolent Mind towards us, I Answer, that at most it argues but a Dis

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satisfi'd Mind, or an Erroneous Perswasion of our way of Worship, that he hath such an Opinion of, as to suspend Communion with us in it at present, but it discovers no hatred of, shews no intention in him to do us injury, proves him to be a Dissenter from, not an Hater of us, because Honest Men may be of different Perswasions in Religion, and yet heartily Love, and therefore neither intend, nor do any Evil to one another. If he thinks us in the Wrong, he may Pity, and Pray God to bring us into the Right way, and if we believe him in Error, we ought to Pity, and Pray for him, not deprive him of his Birth-right; because that is Christian and Pious, this Unjust and Barbarous, and such as is offer'd to none of the Dissenters.

That which is agreeable to Common Prudence, is agreeable to the Law of Nature, 'tis agreeable to Common Prudence for Men weary of a State of War (in which according to Mr. *Hobs*, their Nature put them) to enter into Civil Society for their Mutual Safety and Security, therefore it is agreeable to the Law of Nature for Men to enter into Civil Society.

That which is Destructive of Civil Society, is a Violation of the Law of Nature, to deprive Men of their Rights and Properties upon meer Jealousies and Suspensions, is Destructive of Civil Society, the *Bill of Exclusion* would deprive his Royal Highness of Birth-right, which is founded in the Law of Nature, upon meer Jealousies and Suspensions, therefore the *Bill* is a Violation of the Law of Nature.

The Duke hath *de facto* done nothing Vissible, that is Injurious to the Nation, therefore the Authors of the *Bill* proceed upon meer Jealousies and Suspitions, and consequently do Unjustly, because they Injure an Innocent Person, for every Man is to be presumed so to be, till the contrary appears by his Actions.

But self Preservation (they say) is the prime dictate of the Law of Nature, or that which it prompts all Men to; supposing that, yet Men must not imagine themselves to be in Danger, that they may have a pretence to oppress & injure others, Violence must be offer'd to, Injury done them, or at least be threatned, before they can reasonably apprehend themselves endanger'd, or justly defend themselves, but for *Antonius* only to suspect that the brave *Albanus* intends to do him a mischief, and upon that Suspicion to do him Injury and Mischief by way of Anticipation, is most unreasonable, and therefore most unjust.

Besides, every private Man is, and therefore must be consider'd as a Member of some Civil Society, & as such he hath no Right in all Cases to provide for his own Safety, in Opposition to the Safety and Preservation of the whole Society. 'Tis more for a Mans Safety to follow his Trade, or till the Earth, than to bear Arms, or go to the Wars, two Armies cannot Fight but some of the Combatants will be Slain, and though some always Escape, yet no particular Person hath any assurance that he shall not Dye in the Battel: But notwithstanding the Appendent Danger, Men are bound to Fight

Fight in defence of their Prince and Country, that is, to prefer the publick before their private safety, that being generous and brave, the contrary base and infamous. We see in the Natural body, the hand will expose it self to danger for the safety of the head, and therefore some of the members of the body politick are obliged to expose themselves to danger for the welfare and safety of the whole Society.

But every Nation or Civil Society, hath a Right to preserve it self, the *Bill of Exclusion* (they say) is for the preservation of this Nation, therefore it is a pursuance of that Right : The proposition is true (if rightly understood) the assumption false, for the *Bill* is not for the preservation of the Nation. The Duke will either survive the King, or not; if he do not, the Nation is safe without the *Bill*, and then to pass it is to do unjustly, to no purpose, for no benefit at all, nay to our loss and injury, because if the *Bill* be pass'd, the injustice of it cannot be defended without a standing Army, which would be a vast charge, & therefore a mighty injury to the Nation : But if the Duke survive the King, the passing the *Bill* can be no preservative or security to the Nation, because it is disputed by wise and learned men, whether such a Law would not be null or void in it self, and because 'tis certain that no Law can deter him from endeavouring to obtain the Crown, and therefore the passing the *Bill* (if the Duke survive the King) will certainly produce a War, and so be to the Destruction, not the Happiness or Preservation of the Nation.

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That Peace is to be pursued and and preserved, is one of the prime Dictates of Right Reason, and one of the chief Laws of Nature, because the safety and felicity of men depend upon it, and therefore whatever is Destructive of Peace, is a Violation of the Law of Nature, the *Bill of Exclusion* would Destroy our Peace, therefore it is a Violation to the Law of Nature.

That of two evils or calamities the least is to be chosen, is a prime Principle of Nature, here are two evils, a Popish Successour (as is supposed) a *Project to Exclude* or keep him out ; That but feared, it being not certain that his Royal Highness is a Papist, or if he be so now, that he will continue so, it being possible (if the Nation would treat him with the Honour due unto him) that he may be converted, or if that happen not, that he may leave this World before his Royal Brother : The other evil is a device to *Exclude* or deprive him of his Right (which I have proved to be a moral evil, and being so, is upon no terms to be chosen, but utterly abhor'd and rejected) but if we wave the sinfulness of it, and consider it in point of prudence, this Device, if passed into a Law will be a present and a great Calamity, because it will heighten the confusions and distractions of the Nation, put it to the expence, bring upon it (as I observ'd before) the misery of a standing Army, enrage and increase our Enemies abroad, exasperate, and make those we have at home desperate ; so that the *Project of Exclusion* (setting aside the Sinfulness

ness of it) is a greater temporal Evil or Calamity than a Popish Successour, because that is present, this only feared, and therefore future.

The miseries feared from a Popish Successour may be only feared or imagin'd, not felt, he may if he pleases serve God his own way, and let us enjoy the Religion Establish'd. If not so, yet the miseries consequent to the setting up the *Romish* Religion, will not be comparable to the calamities of a War, which the *Excluding* him will produce; that way a few (in comparison of what a War will destroy) may Suffer, this way the whole Kingdom, nay all the Three Kingdoms will be imbroil'd and ruin'd, that way some may fall Martyrs and so dye honourably here, and live gloriously in Heaven, this way great numbers will be cut off in the damnable Sin of Rebellion, and so perish shamefully here, and eternally in Hell; so that a Popish Successour is a lesser evil, a more tolerable calamity than the *Bill of Exclusion*, and therefore this is to be laid aside, and that left to Providence.

But every man ('tis said) hath a Right to his Plank in a Shipwrack, supposing that, yet here is no Shipwrack, but what mens idle (if not worse) fears suggest, and would it not be Egregious Knavery for some of the Mariners to cast the Pilate overboard, because they have a wild Suspicion, that he will run the Ship upon a Rock on purpose to sink himself and them. Besides, though every man be allow'd to do all that is just and innocent for his own Preserva-

tion, yet there are some Persons that must not have any injury or violence done them for any cause whatsoever, because the great Author of the Law of Nature forbids it, saying, *Touch not mine Anoynted* : No Provocation can ever make it Lawful for a Son to assault his Father, nor for a Subject to resist his Prince, because that is contrary to Nature, this destructive to Civil Society, of which he is born a Member, and which he is indispensably obliged by the Law of Nature to preserve.

St. John:
11. 50:

The Jews were full of Projects, and had their *Grand Expedient* to save their Nation, *It is Expedient for us* (saith Caiaphas) *that one man should dye for the People, and that the whole Nation Perish not.* The Nation was in no Danger at all, no Storm nor Shipwrack approaching, no more Fear of the *Romans* than at other times, only a danger feigned, that they might have a poor pretence to Destroy an Innocent Person, to Murder the Holy Jesus : And what was the event of this *Politick Expedient*, did it answer their expectations, contribute any thing to their Safety or Security ? No, no ! instead of saving, it sunk the Ship, turn'd their so craftily pretended into a real danger, involv'd their whole Nation in the greatest and most deplorable Ruin or Destruction, and that by the *Romans*, that ever any People Suffer'd, or any History Related, thereby warning all Kingdoms and Nations to take heed of such wicked *Expedients*, never to do any unjust thing for the avoiding any danger how great or real soever, or to seek the Publick Safety by oppressing or

injuring any Innocent Person, for God is Righteous and will be sure to Punish the wrong-doers.

So that the *Bill of Exclusion* is contrary to the Law of Nature, as well as to the Law of Christ, and as this forbids, so that condemns it, and therefore it cannot be agreeable to Natural Justice, unless they mean that of Mr *Hobs*, who represents the Humane to be as savage and barbarous as the Brutish Nature, and affirms that Men have no obligations upon them to do justly, but what humane Laws lay upon them, but that all Men have a natural Right to do every thing they please, and that to all Persons, for which, and all his other lewd and impious Assertions he hath been sufficiently reprov'd and baffled by divers learned and excellent Persons: The *Bill of Exclusion* may be acknowledg'd (if that be any honour to it) to be agreeable to this Wild and Atheistical Justice, but Christianity condemns, and Right Reason abhors it.

This is the true Character and real Nature Subject. 5.
of your so much admired *Project of Exclusion*, I have done it no injury, laid no false colours upon, to render it more deformed and odious than it is, and deserves to be, but have only examin'd it by the just and holy Laws of Christ, and the Dictates of Right Reason, that seeing (what your fears of, and Zeal against Popery, would not then give you time to consider) the high Injustice and great Impiety of it, you may be ashamed and repent of it, which with

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all humility I conjure and beseech you to do, by all that is dear to you, and which you have the greatest Reasons, and most pressing Motives to perswade you to.

The Offence you have committed against God: *For doth not he love righteousness and hate iniquity, and require that all men, especially Magistrates, do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with him?* But this Device of yours is a manifest contradiction to all these. 'Tis to oppress and rob an innocent person of his Right, to offer him that hard Measure, which you would by no means have done to your selves, and therefore *to do unjustly*. 'Tis to treat an erring person (for such his Royal Highness is, if he be a Papist) with the greatest rigor or severity, to ruin, or make him miserable in this, because he is become (as you believe) a Proselyte to that Church, which he (if he be of it) thinks (though erroneously) will guide him safely to the Eternal Glory and Happiness of the other World, and therefore is most *unmerciful*! If any man Err from the truth, Charity prompts and obligeth us to endeavour his Conversion, and to restore him in the Spirit of meekness, with all mildness and gentleness to shew him his mistake, and represent to him the evil and dangerous consequences of it, that he may hate and forsake it. But your attempt to *Exclude* the Duke doth not design his Conversion, but Destruction, leaves him no place for Repentance, but intends his Ruin, and therefore is Cruel not Charitable.

Amongst

Amongst the many praises they adorn'd it with, some of the Admirers of it, I remember, commended this Device for the *mercy* of it; An Elogium destitute of all shadow or appearance of Truth, because the punishment it would inflict is worse than Death; for a brave and valiant Prince, as his Royal Highness is, had rather dye than survive the loss of a Crown, which is his Right by Birth, if he survive his present Majesty, than to be degraded from, and unjustly depriv'd of the highest Dignity and Honour upon Earth, to see another leap over his Head, get into that Throne, wear the Royal Diadem, and possess the Kingdoms he was born to, must needs be a continual grief, trouble, and vexation to him, and make him weary of his Life: Such Iniury and Disgrace would be intolerable, and cause him to dye daily, to linger out a tedious Life; but Death would soon put a period to all his miseries, and conduct him to that blessed place, where they that suffer wrongfully here, shall be greatly rewarded: when a Man hath no just claim to any thing that the World admires and calls great or glorious, the want of it cannot reasonably create him any trouble or discontent, but he is as well pleas'd with, and thinks himself as happy in his low condition, as others are in the highest and most honourable stations upon Earth, but to be deposed or cast down from that Empire or Sovereignty, which his Illustrious Ancestors enjoy'd before him, and not suffer'd to Inherit the Throne of his Fathers, to be laid aside as unworthy to possess the

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Kingdom he was born to, this must needs be an Hell upon Earth, the greatest or most perfect misery any Man living can endure, that hath nothing to comfort or support, to sweeten or ease it, and therefore must needs be most rigorous and cruel. If this be mercy, God deliver every Man from it.

And being a contradiction to that Justice and Mercy he requires, it cannot possibly be consistent with the other great duty, *the walking humbly with God*: For what is that, but to submit unto his will in all things, to resign our selves to his disposal, to depend upon his wise and gracious providence in the use of lawful means, in all dangers to hope in his mercy, to put our trust and confidence in his Power and Goodness, not doubting but he careth for us, and will, so far as he sees it conducive to his honour, and our good, deliver us from all dangers and sufferings: This is to walk humbly and religiously, and so, as all pious and holy Men have in all Ages walked with God. But your *Project of Exclusion* is a Defiance to all this, a plain Declaration that you dare not trust God with your Religion, your Lives, and Estates, nor commit them to his care and keeping, but prefer your own evil Inventions before his gracious Protection, admire your sinful Policy more than his holy Wisdom, as if he was either ignorant of, or unable to save us from the cruel designs of our Enemies, or cared not what becomes of us, or as if that which is an open affront to, or violation of his righteous Laws, could Minister to the safety

or defence of the Nation. If this be not an high offence against God, I know not what is, or can be so?

Nor have you offended onely against God, but against his Anoynted too, done all you could to draw the King to be a Partner in your Injustice, courted him to give his Royal Assent to your *Bill*, with liberal offers, and when they prevail'd not, attempted to constrain or force him to it, by denying him the necessary supplies, which his great Affairs requir'd, and the danger the Nation was in exacted from you. Are not these high and heighnous offences? Is it not a great sin to intice or tempt any Man, much more your Prince, to an unjust action, and when no allurements could perswade, unmindful of all reverence to God and Him, To attempt to necessitate, or compel him to do it. These things look black and dreadful, and I need not tell you whose works they are, the Author of them is easily known, and no Christian sure can be ambitious to invade his hateful office. The trouble, vexation, and disquiet, which you have created the King by your resolute adherance to it, deserve to be consider'd too: For how many cares, fears, and sad thoughts, hath this your undutiful behaviour towards him produced in his Royal Soul? Is this the love you have for, the requital you render him, for all his Care of, and Royal Favours to you, and all the Eminent Blessings which God by him hath confer'd upon the Nation, to do what in you lies to rob him of all his tranquillity and content, and to make him

him weary of his Life? Is this the Honour God commands you to shew, the Obedience he bids you pay to his Anoynted, to praise and urge him in such an unbecoming manner to the most dishonourable Act; and to persist Stubbornly in it, when he reproved you for, and declared his abhorrence of it? 'Tis as plain then as any thing can be, that you neither fear'd God nor the King, but sinn'd against both, in pressing with such restless importunity this unjust Device.

'Tis to sin against the Duke too, not only as it offers him the highest injury and injustice, but also as it confirms him in his Errour (if he be a Papist,) and tempts him to be so, though he was none before: Confirms him in his Errour, if he be really a Profeyte to the Church of Rome, for will he not rejoyce that he hath withdrawn himself from Men that walk so disorderly, that have so little fear of God, as to do the unjust and evil things he hates, so little Faith, that they dare not trust him with their Religion, but seek to preserve it by base and unworthy Arts, are so cowardly impatient, and unchristian, that they will do a great and certain Injury to avoyd an uncertain one, ruin him now for fear they should suffer hereafter.

But if on the other side his Royal Highness was no Papist, the treating him with such cruelty and injustice must needs be a mighty temptation to make him so; for had he not reason to draw this Inference from your attempt to *Exclude* him, If Protestants use their

their Princes in this manner, 'tis safer to be a Papist? My glorious Father was Murder'd, my Royal Brother made an Exile by them, and forced to wander in Forreign Countries, and now their malice is grown so virulent and cruel against me, without any just cause or provocation at all (I having Injured none of them) that they would deprive me of my Birthright, and proscribè or banish me as an Enemy to my Native Country : I have no way then to secure my self from the dangers that threaten me, but to leave the Protestants, and joyn my self to the Papists, who 'tis possible may treat me as justly and honourably, as they have done despitefully and cruelly. This Conclusion is natural from your Premises, though I hope, and believe his Royal Highness is more Pious, Just, and Prudent, than to be either tempted by it to such a change, or to impute this Impious Project to all the *English* Protestants, as if they were favourers or approvers of it; The Right Honourable the House of Lords, and all the Loyal Addressers, and Abhorrrers have given him full satisfaction to the contrary, but as for you, it cannot be deny'd, but you have given him great Scandal, brought Reproach not onely upon your selves, but all the Professors of the Reformed Religion in this Nation, done enough to make him hate the very name of Protestant for ever, and thereby incurr'd the *Woe* denounc'd by our Lord against them by whom *Offences come.*

You

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1 Sam. 2.
23. 24.

You have hereby also misled the People, or drawn them into dangerous Errours, taught them to think all things Lawful that tend to keep out Popery, that Zeal for the true Religion will justify the most unrighteous Actions, that for their own safety and defence they may do Injury to Princes : Tempted them to entertain ill thoughts of the King, because he did not pass your *Bill* which you admir'd and cryed up, as the only *Expedient* to keep out Popery : Made them apt to Mutiny, and break out into Tumults and Seditions. Oh how dangerous and fearful a thing is it, not only to do evil your selves, but to corrupt others ! What *Eli* said to his Sons deserves to be well consider'd by you, *Why do ye such things ? for I hear of your evil dealings by all this People : Nay my Sons (or rather Fathers) for it is no good report that I hear , ye make the Lords People to Transgress.*

Besides, you have hereby likewise dishonour'd the Reformed Religion, brought up an ill report of, cast reproach and infamy upon it, which can never be wiped off, but by your great and publick Repentance. For consider, I beseech you, what can more effectually open the Mouths, and sharpen the Pens of all its Enemies against it, than this Device of yours, which is so open an affront to, and violation of the Principal Laws of Christ ? Instead of providing things *honest* in the sight of all Men, as the Apostle requires all Christians to do, this is to do that which is unjust and dishonest in the sight and judgment of all men, your selves excepted : Instead of Doing that, which St. *Peter* tells

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tells you, *is the will of God, with well doing* 1 Epist 2.
 (that is true Loyalty, Obedience, and just be- 15,
 haviour towards Princes) *to put to silence the igno-*
rance of foolish men, to take from the Adversar-
 ies of it (that watch for pretences to revile
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rance of foolish men, to take from the Adversaries of it (that watch for pretences to revile it) all just cause or occasion to speak evil of the Truth, you by making the safety of Religion the motive to, and colour of your injustice, have turn'd it into a cloak of maliciousness, and so render'd it the scorn and derision of the Papists; for how do the Fathers of the Society insult and triumph at it? Now they say the mask of holiness is fallen off, and the Protestants shew themselves in their true colours, prove themselves to be Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, they that forsook our Church under pretence of serving God in greater Purity, and said their Consciences were so tender, that they durst not Communicate with us in our Errours, can commit the highest injustice without any fear or scruple. Oh you that abhor Idols, and think the Images of Christ and his Saints abominable things, do you offer the greatest violence and injury to Princes, which are the most lively Images of God upon Earth? You that condemn us for Deposing Kings, would you make Laws to Disinherit Princes, and thereby practice your selves that which you condemn in us? what shameful Hypocrisy, and impudent Partiality is this? This, instead of converting Papists, will in all probability make many, drive more to Rome, than all the Arguments we can use can draw from it. Now suppose the least that can be reasonably supposed,

sed, that one Soul, who had before a good Opinion of our Church, intended to leave the *Romish* Superstition, and joyn it self to us, should by a just abhorrence of this Project of yours, change his mind, resolve to stay in the *Roman* Communion, and so Perish everlastingly : Or that one Protestant offended at your injurious proceedings against a Son of the late most Glorious, and a Brother, the only Brother of our present most Gracious King, should turn Papist, and thereby fall into eternal misery and ruin : What an horrid guilt do you thereby contract, which the great Lover and Redeemer of Souls will call you to a sad account for ? Dreadful, I am sure, is the doom which he denounceth against them that do it, *Who so shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a Millstone were hanged about his Neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the Sea :* A Christian had better Suffer any thing, undergo the most horrid or fearful Death here, than by Offending, or causing any man to Sin, to bring upon himself, and him Eternal Damnation ; Oh therefore according to *St. Pauls* Admonition, *Let no Man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall, in his Brothers way.*

St. Mat.
18. 6.

Put all these sad things together, the Offence you have committed against God, and his Anoynted, the Injury you have offer'd, the Scandal and Provocation you have given the Duke, the dangerous Errours you have drawn the People into, the Reproach also and Dishonour you have brought upon the best and most holy

holy Religion in the World, and you will be convinced that you have offended in an high degree, and therefore ought to Repent speedily and heartily.

But before I press you to this, I have another most weighty consideration to propound to you, which (if any thing can do it) will make you tremble at, and say with the deepest sorrow, and remorse, *What have we done ?* I mean the late most execrable Conspiracy to Subvert the Government, and to Assassinate our Gracious Sovereign and his Royal Highness, which some of the Zealous Promoters of the *Bill of Exclusion*, with other wicked men, of Base, Bloudy, and Trayterous Principles, had enter'd into. Thus one Sin draws on another, and a lesser produces the greatest and most horrid wickedness. These are the known Arts and Wiles of the Devil, it was neither wise nor safe for him to prompt them to such an hellish Treason and Murder at first, and therefore he began with some preparatory Principles, which he knew would by degrees drive them to, and ingage them in this, which were such as these, That the strict Rules of Justice are to be dispens'd with ; for the defence and security of true Religion ; That nothing is unlawful that is conducive to so good an end ; That a Popish Prince ought not upon any terms to be intrusted with the Government of a Protestant Kingdom, what ever Right or Title he may have to it. These brought on the *Bill of Exclusion*, put you upon that Resolve, That there was no way to deliver the Nation from Popery, but to De-
prive

prive the Duke of the Succession: and having come to this determination, all your Wit and Zeal were employed, all endeavours used to gain the Royal Assent, which not obtaining, what murmurs and complaints were every where heard? What clamours and outcries, wrath and bitterness, and evil speakings fill'd every corner of the Kingdom? These shew'd your indignation and discontent, and made all wise men sadly apprehensive that some dreadful storm was coming: From hence proceeded that insolent Vote, by which they were declared Enemies to the Sitting of Parliaments, that lent the King Money upon any part of his Revenue, which was to Proclaim to all the World, that as you would raise him none, so none of his good Subjects should presume to furnish him with any: What was this but to expose the Nation to inevitable Ruin, if the watchful providence of God had not diverted, and prevented all open Assaults or Attempts against it, and to disable the King to defend his People from injury and violence? From hence came also your frequent Clubs and Consults, in which the violent and eager Men of your Party (as is now evident) took Council together against the Lord and against his Anointed. These were the steps by which the wicked Contrivers of it, descended into this Abyss or Depth of wickedness, these were the Arts and Methods that led to this detestable Conspiracy, because the King would not consent to the Excluding his Royal Highness, the bloody Villains resolv'd to Exclude,

or

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or send them both out of the World by a barbarous Assassination.

I believe divers of you are Innocent of this black and great offence, and do heartily abhor it, but it cannot be deny'd that this *Project of Exclusion* hath produced, or caused this Treason. To say you did not intend it, may in some of you be acknowledg'd to be true, but then you should have consider'd how dangerous (as well as sinful) it is to venture upon any unjust or unlawful means for the attaining any good whatsoever, because error is a boundless thing, and when men are once drawn into it, they know not where to stop, but run on still, proceed from bad to worse, fall from one wickedness to another, and never come into Gods Righteousness.

So that it is the highest wisdom, as well as his indispensable duty, for every Man to keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that is Right, to do no evil nor unjust thing upon any inducement, or for any end whatsoever, because, whatever happens in the mean time, this will be sure to bring a man Peace and Salvation at the last. God hath given us a most just and holy Law to live by, teaching us, as all Piety to Him, so all Loyalty to his Anointed, actually to obey all our Princes Lawful commands, and patiently to suffer what punishments he is pleased to inflict for our non-performance of those things, which he requires in opposition to the Law of God, if at any time through Error or Mistake he impose any such. This promotes the Honour and
Q Glory

Glory of God, the Safety and Felicity of Princes, and the Peace or Tranquillity of the World. They that keep to this rule can never suffer as Traytors and Evil-doers, but if they suffer at all, it must be for Well-doing, for their obedience to God and his Laws, and then most happy or blessed are they, because they will have the joys and comfort of a good Conscience to ease and sweeten their Sufferings, and God will support them under them, and give them a great reward in his Heavenly Kingdom. Every Man that doth his duty to God and his Prince, that commits himself to the care and keeping of the Almighty by a just and pious Conversation, hath all the safety and security that can possibly be had, or reasonably desir'd in this World, for if God protects any, these in all probability are the Persons that may expect, and obtain that favour from him. Besides, what temptation or Inducement can Princes have to oppress or injure, to ruin or destroy good, peaceable, and harmless People, that pay them all due honour, and obey them as far as is consistent with their duty to God? None, none at all; which makes the Apostle say, *Who is he that will harm you, if you be followers of that which is Good?* Every Man that hath any Religion or fear of God will be both afraid and ashamed to do it, for if he Persecute and Destroy such Innocent People, they shall be saved and shine with Christ in Heavenly Glory, but he shall suffer the terrours of an evil Conscience, ly under the sense of Gods displeasure here, and when

1 St. Pet.

3. 13.

when he Passes out of this World, (Cruelty being commonly short lived,) have an intolerable portion with the Unjust and Oppressors, with the Blood Thirsty and Persecutors, in the black Regions of Eternal Sorrow and Misery. But when Men seek to save or secure themselves from dangers (whether real or imaginary) by unjust or unlawfull means (such as this *Project of Exclusion* is) these instead of averting, invite and hasten their approach, nay multiply and increase them, instead of making a way for them to escape, intangle them so, that they grow desperate, and resolve upon the most bloody, villanous, and wicked Enterprizes, such as this Treason is. For besides that it is an open affront and defiance to all the Laws of God, the breaking all those Sacred Bonds asunder, with which he ties the hands of Subjects from doing violence to his Anoynd, an insolent slighting the dreadful Judgments and most terrible Punishments he hath inflicted upon such presumptuous Sinners, as if they thought Heaven had wasted all its Artillery, spent all its Thunderbolts upon the Traytors of former times, and had no Vengeance in store for them that now Conspire the Death of Princes, or else believed the Righteous God was so partiall as to discover and punish none but Popish Traitors, so that they might commit the same execrable crime in Zeal against Popery, and be, if not innocent, yet safe, and have no harm, nor danger happen to them, Besides this contempt, I say, of Gods Commands and Judgments, those forbidding Trea-

son as a crime most damnable, these confounding Traitors, and hurrying them away to Hell with a swift and dreadful destruction, how have those of your Party engaged in this barbarous Conspiracy, shamed all your former Professions and Pretences? For was not this the great Plea for your *Bill of Exclusion*, the mighty Argument with which you press'd the Passing, and thought to justify or maintain the Lawfulness of it, That it was the *only Expedient*, as to suppress Popery, so to save the King, to preserve his most precious life from the Treachery and Cruelty of that Faction. You made the Nation believe, that you could be content to run all hazards, to expose your selves to all dangers, to endure any hardships or miseries, if the King was but safe, and guarded from the hands of violence, and all the bloody attempts of the *Romish Party*. These things looked fair and plausible, and some that loved the King thought them real, and were deluded into a good opinion of your Proceedings, but now the Masque is off, and those of you that were engaged in this Hellish design, have no Cloak nor Covering for their Treachery, for, *though their words were softer than butter, yet they had War in their hearts, though their speeches were kind and fair, smother than oyl, yet were they very Swords*: They tender of the Kings most precious life, and studious to preserve him from harm and danger? Who can, or will believe it? If they were so then, why did they Plot to destroy him since? What hath the King done to merit or deserve their wrath? If they really design'd
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and desired his Preservation before, why did they resolve to Murder him now? Had not the King as great Reason as they to consult his own safety, and doth not the admirable wisdom he shews in the conduct of all his great Affairs, demonstrate him best able to judg what ways and methods would be most conducive to the attaining so desirable an end? So that their Plotting his destruction since proclaims to all the World, that they did not really desire to save him from the Papists then, or if they did, that it was because they intended to kill him themselves, and that in the same manner the Papists design'd to destroy him, even by surprise, to come upon him unawares, and *cut him off from amongst the living*, which is most Treacherous and Base, Cursed Cruelty and Cowardise joyn'd together. A Brave and Valiant Enemy would scorn to treat the most hated person so, or to rob any Man of such a Jewel as his Life in such a vile and sneaking manner; Men of any Courage or Gallantry (though wicked) could not be so base Spirited as to steal upon two of the bravest Princes in the World, and knock them on the head: But this is right *Fanatick* Practise, for that savage and barbarous Faction is both most cruel and base, it thirsts after and delights in Blood, the Blood of Princes, and attempts to shed it by Surprise and Treachery.

And if enquiry be made, what moved them to this execrable Conspiracy, what irritated or intraged them thus against the King, it will be found to be nothing but pure Malice, that they

they had no ill usage offer'd, no provocation given to tempt them to such a wickedness ; for the King is Inferiour to none of his Renowned Ancestors in Justice, Mercy, Kindness to, and Care of his People, the Laws are the measures of his Government, he neither exhausts his Subjects by Arbitrary Exactions, nor consumes them by Needless Wars, but is pleas'd to make it his constant Care and Study to Preserve them in Piety, Peace, and Plenty. What detestable Villany and Ingratitude is it then, for any of his People to requite his Love with Hatred, the most Cruel and Deadly Hatred, to Conspire together not to let him Live, under whose Peaceful, Mild, and Equal Government they are blessed above all the People of the World, and happy to the admiration of all their Neighbour Nations.

'Tis true indeed, no Injuries, Oppressions, or Cruelties from their Prince, can ever Warrant, or make it Lawful for Subjects to Conspire his Death, or to take Arms against him, *for if they resist* (much more if they invade or assault him) *St. Paul tells them they shall receive to themselves Damnation :* But yet when their Treasons are causless and unprovoked, as this was, they must needs be most Wicked and Damnable, because they have nothing but the Devil and meer Malice to instigate the Impious Wretches to them.

And if this execrable Treason had succeeded, what a deplorable Condition had the People been in ? Instead of a most just and merciful Prince, who Loves, and is a Father to them, they

they had been Slaves to, and groan'd under the Cruelties and Oppressions of God knows how many merciless Tyrants: The City, in which Justice used to Reign, would have been full of Blood and Violence: The Country where the happy People enjoy'd their Estates in peace and safety, would have been turned into a Den of Thieves and Murderers. When this doleful Tragedy had been noys'd abroad, all the Loyal and Good People of the Nation would have been seiz'd with Horrour and Amazement, drown'd in Tears, expres'd their deep and vehement Sorrow with hideous Outcries and Lamentations, have filled Heaven and Earth with Complaints and doleful Exclamations: Their Ruin too would have been great and inevitable, their Lives expos'd to the armed Violence, their Estates to the insatiable Rapine and Avarice of those bloody Villains that kill'd the King; For they that could have the heart to smite the Shepherd, would they have took any Pity of, or have Spared the Flock? No, no! The Loyal Party would have tasted the same bitter fate with their Prince, their bloudy Swords would have made havock of all that stood in their way, Death and Slaughter would have Reign'd every where, the whole Nation would have been an *Aceldama*, a great burying place. The *French* and *Irish* Massacres, and all the Cruelties, of Ancient and Modern times, had been petty things in compare with this black Tragedy, a Conspiracy so execrable and villanous, that it will exceed the Faith of the next, as,

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much as it doth the Expression of the present Age.

And if you will according to our Saviours Rule (which is the surest way of Judging) *judg of the Tree by the Fruit it bears*, you cannot but see how impious your *Project of Exclusion* is, that hath brought forth such fruit, prompted some of the Zealots for it, with other Wicked Wretches, to such a damnable Conspiracy as this, which would (if not prevented by the Infinite goodness of God) have cut off the King and his Royal Highness, undone all his good Subjects, and ruin'd Three flourishing Kingdoms, that would have *Excluded* or Banish'd all Peace, Piety, and Happiness, and let in Prophaneness, Oppression, and Misery.

So that if you will speak the Truth, you must acknowledg your crime to be exceeding great, in making choice of such a sinful *Expedient*, and if you desire to be forgiven, your Repentance must be equal to your Crime, that is, you must confess and forsake it.

Confess it to God, and beseech him to forgive the great Offence you have committed against him.

Go to the King, and humbly beg his Pardon, that you should cause him so much danger, bring his most precious Life into so great Peril, that you should advise or propose any thing, that minister'd occasion or temptation to violent and blood thirsty men, to attempt any thing either against his Person or Government : or that you should do any thing to create trouble and vexation to his Royal Soul, or destroy his quiet
and

and tranquillity. Let him know how much you are grieved for these your Errours and Offences, and that you should be ashamed to live, but that you hope his Royal Clemency will forgive, and your unfeigned Loyalty for the future make reparation for what you have done amiss.

Go to his Royal Highness, and confess the horrid injuries, the high and shameful injustice you have offer'd him, that forgetting the Honour due to him as a Prince, you have treated him most rudely and despitefully, so that by the Law of Retaliation he might return the same severe measure to you, that you have tender'd to him, that as you have proudly and disdainfully said of him, as the stubborn *Jews* did of Christ, *We will not have this Man Rule over us*, so he, if he ever come to be King, may say concerning you with the Prince in the Gospel *But those mine enemies, which would not that I should Reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me.* 'Tis certain that by your unjust and unworthy behaviour towards him, you have given the Duke great provocation, which nothing but Repentance can appease, for when nothing else can do it, Submission and Sorrowful Acknowledgment of the error or offence committed will pacifie a brave and generous person, as his Royal Highness is. Let this then be your method, go to him, and acknowledg the injuries you have done him, and humbly beg his pardon, beseech him as *Shimei* did King *David*, *not to impute iniquity to you*, neither to remember what you did perversly in the days of

St. Luke
19. 27.

of fear and danger, when the rumours of Popery, and the discovery of the horrid Conspiracy of the Papists frightened you almost out of your wits, tell him that men in a great fright are apt to run into extravagancies, neither know, nor consider what they do, but say and do such things, which at other times they would be ashamed of, humbly represent to him that some allowances are to be made you upon that account, and though nothing can excuse, yet his generosity can, and you hope will forgive the high offences you have committed against him, which if he please to do, you will never more provoke or injure, but love, honour, and treat him as the Son, and Brother of a King, and Heir apparent to these three Kingdoms. This is all the reparation you can make, the best satisfaction you can give him for your past offence, and if you do this, there is no doubt but he will forgive you. Princes resemble their glorious Founder, both in their Power to punish, and their proneness to forgive the injuries and indignities that are committed against them, and as Repentance renders him Merciful and Propitious, turns away his Displeasure, so it excites their Compassion, and pacifies their Wrath; but as God will not, so they have no obligation to Pardon those that against all Reason and Religion Sin against them, and when they have done it, refuse to Repent. That you have done the first, highly injured his Royal Highness, is as evident as any thing can be; Be sure then to make your Repentance as publick as your crime hath been, and do not doubt but it will be

be effectual to obtain your pardon. The Duke can, and will forgive you upon your hearty sorrow for, and humble confession of your offence, and you reproach and injure him more, if you think he hath, or will shew no mercy, than you have done by your past misbehaviour towards him, though your Sin against him be high and hainous; yet do not say with Cain, *it is greater than can be forgiven*, for this apprehension (I believe) prompted the Zealots of your Party (whom their guilt made desperate) to conspire his Death, according to the known Maxim of the wicked Politicians, who say, *That bad Actions must be seconded with worse, and lesser injuries pursued with greater*, the injurious person not thinking himself safe, till he hath taken from the injur'd all possibility of revenge : What barbarous, nay devilish methods are these, without any povocation or cause at all to wrong an Innocent Prince, and then for fear they should at one time or other be called to account for it, seek to secure themselves by doing him a greater ; First against all the Rules of Justice, the Dictates of right Reason, and the Laws of Religion, attempt to rob him of his Birth-right, and when that wicked imagination did not prosper or take effect, instead of Repenting of it, consult or agree together to take away his Life, because the dead cannot revenge the injuries that are done them: But is there then no God that judgeth in the Earth ? Or if there be, doth not he behold ungodliness and wrong, that he may take the matter into his hand ; punish the accursed

Authors

Authors of them with dreadful inflictions here, or if for reasons unknown to us, he forbear them now, with the most horrible damnation hereafter. Such men as these are so far from making the high and noble Precepts of Christ the measures of their Actions, that they fall short of the lower Justice, Mercy, and Integrity of the Heathens; nay proceed according to the wild, Villanous, and Atheistical Principles of the *Leviathan*, and instead of reproving their detestable practices by producing the words of Christ, or any of his Apostles, I may bespeak them in those of that wise and honest Heathen *Diphilus* the Comœdian, ὁρᾷς τίς ὅστις δοκᾷτε ἔκ ἐστι θεῶν, ἔστι γὰρ ἔστιν look to it you that think there is no God! there is, there is: If any man do ill (as you have done a great evil) let him think time is gain, for he shall certainly suffer for what he hath done amiss. The punishment of such men lingers & is defer'd for a time, but it will be sure to come, and that the heavier at last, and by its greatness make amends for the slowness of its approach. And therefore that neither the horror of your Offence, nor your fears of Punishment make you desperate, and push you on to such dreadful crimes as they prompted the Conspirators to, take the first opportunity to reconcile your selves to his Royal Highness, by confessing the injuries you have done him, and begging his pardon for them; but then you must not only confess, but renounce and forsake them, meddle no more, I mean, with the Succession, but cast your *Bill* out of Doors, as a monstrous and abominable Brat, conceiv'd

ceiv'd by Fear, nurs'd by Faction, born to do mischief and bring forth Treasons, Murders, and all manner of Miseries, Be you its Judges to pass Sentence, and see Execution done upon it, for nothing can be more just, than to cast that into the fire which tended so apparently to put the Kingdom into a Combustion.

Be careful to undeceive the People too, whom by your mighty Zeal for, and resolute Adherence to it, you have drawn to an high esteem and admiration of your *Projects* of *Exclusion*, and thereby prepared for Tumults, Seditions, and all manner of violent and unlawful Practises. Your Votes are of such Authority with all the factious and discontented people, that they think them, if not equal to Holy Scripture, yet the best Commentary upon it, and will follow your Marginal Notes rather than the sacred Text: Consider then what a dangerous thing it is to instil bad Principles into the People, who are of themselves too prone to run into Errours and Extravagancies, and therefore instead of Goads to excite, they need Bridles to restrain them from them: That they who are apt to think justice or honesty a superfluous or needless virtue now under the Gospel, and perswade themselves that Christ fulfil'd all Righteousness on purpose to free those that believe in him from the practice of it, will be Confirm'd in their pernicious Errour, when they see iniquity establish'd by Law, and a most unjust thing done for the Defence and Security of Reformed Christianity: Nay, which is more horrid, some will think, that

that which Men call Religion, no Divine Institution, but meer Humane Invention, because if it come from God, the professors of it may safely commend or commit it to his Protection, his Care and Keeping, it being most reasonable to suppose, that he loves his own Institutions, and is concern'd in honour to preserve them from the attempts of those that seek to destroy them: But when Men are so busy and forward to support and secure their Religion by unjust and evil Arts, think it so weak and helpless a thing that it is not able to shift for it self, to maintain or keep its ground without the assistance of sinful and unlawful succours, This tempts the suspicious to think it a meer humane invention; for if it be of God, it needs no sin to uphold it, and they who do evil in defence of it, incur his wrath as *Uzzab* did, who put forth his hand to stay the tottering Ark, which he apprehended to be falling. Nothing of divine institution can possibly fall or perish, so long as the Almighty Author of it is pleas'd to uphold and protect it, but when he withdraws his support, and it is his pleasure that it fall, all the power and policy of Men cannot keep it up, though they use the best and most pious methods to that purpose. Princes and Magistrates 'tis certain may & ought to do every thing that is just and innocent, for the safety of the true Religion, but if they use any wicked or forbidden means to protect and defend it, these by the just Judgments of God increase the danger, both hasten and render the fall of it
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more ruinous and shameful, it dies certainly because God hath determin'd it shall, and that with reproach, and consequently leaves an ill name behind it, not by its own Demerit, but by the Errours and evil Practices of its lovers and admirers.

Now whatever Errours either of Judgement or Practice, this Device of yours leads any of the People into, and whatever Ruin or Miseries they thereby bring upon themselves, either in this World or in the other, all these you are answerable, and will be called to a sad reckoning for, if not before, yet in that great day when the Righteous God shall bring every work into Judgement, with every secret thing whether it be good or evil, if you do not prevent it in time by rectifying their mistakes, and changing their opinions of it, which you may easily do, by representing to them faithfully and plainly the great Injustice and Impiety of it, that Religion Condemns, Right Reason and common Honesty Forbids it, that it is Evil in it self, Dangerous to the King, and Mischievous to the People, and therefore to be *abhor'd not admired, rejected, not chosen*: Such a Declaration as this from you will recover the People out of the Errour and Snare into which you have drawn them, and reclaim them from doting on it; but if you do it not, so long as they have your Persons in Admiration, and cry up your Opinions as Oracles, they will be very difficultly, if at all, convinced of the Injustice of it, and you omit that which is necessary to compleat your Repentance, and consequently to obtain your Pardon

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Pardon from all whom you have thereby injured and offended. If you do the other, God will be merciful, his Anoynted forgive, and his Royal Highness be reconcil'd to you, then it will be well with you, and happy shall you be.

Subject. 6. Well, but you will say, if we lay aside this *Expedient*, will not the *Romans* come and take away our Place and Nation? must our Religion, our King, and all that is Dear to us be endanger'd by the Papiſts, and shall we do nothing for our Defence, and Security? This is an hard saying who can bear it? As for the *Romans* there is no doubt but they will recover their lost Sovereignty, and set up their Religion here if they can (though it be a great question whether they can do it) and we should be very much to blame, and perish cheaply, if we do not use all fair and lawful means to preserve our selves, But as for those that are unjust and sinful (as I have proved this *Project* of yours to be) as they will do us no good, so we have no need to use them.

For first, Is there no God, nor Providence? doth not he that made, Govern the World? Hath he no care of, nor concern for them that profess his Truth, and reverence or obey his Laws? That he is, you do not Question; and you have no Reason to doubt the other, because St. *Peter* expressly affirms it, calling upon us to cast

1 Epist. 5. our care upon him, because he careth for us: Hath
7. our Lord, who, when he was upon Earth, did with so much Labour, and so many Sufferings purchase

purchase to himself a Church and People, who loved and gave himself to Death, the cruel and reproachful Death of the Cross for it, hath he, I say, no kindness for his Church, no care at all of it, now he is in Heaven? Doth the Glory in which he shines on the right hand of his Father, the Rapturous Joys and unconceivable Felicities he is there possess'd of, divert his thoughts or render him unmindful of his faithful Servants and devout Worshippers upon Earth, so that he cares not what becomes of them? or if he bears them good will, loves and is kindly affected to them, is he so poor, so impotent a Prince, that he is not able to protect them? What Shame, and Folly, and Impiety is it to think so meanly and unworthily of him? He that when he was upon Earth, healed the Sick, raised the Dead, and did so many wonderful works, must needs now all Power is given him both in Heaven and Earth, be a most mighty Saviour and Deliverer? of his ability then to help and defend us, there can be no question or doubt at all: all the dispute is whether he will do it? And to my apprehension those words which *St. Matthew* relates as the last he speaks upon Earth, have a favourable aspect this way, *Loe I am with you alway, even to the end of the* Chap. 28
world: I am going from you, returning to the 20,
 glorious place from whence I came, to take possession of the Throne prepared for me in Heaven, but assure your selves that when I am there, I will be careful of you, though you have not my Bodily presence, yet I will afford you my Protection and Assistance, for those
 R words,

Chap. 1. 8.

Acts 7. 9.
10.

words, *I will be with you*, signifie commonly ; will deliver you, as in that promise to the Prophet *Jeremy*, *be not affraid of their faces, for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord* : and St. *Stephen* speaking of *Joseph*, saith, *God was with him*, that is, as he explains it in the following words, *deliver'd him out of all his afflictions*. 'Tis true indeed, this (as all other temporal promises are) must be understood *cum exceptione crucis*, that Christ will be with, protect and deliver his Church and People from all dangers and sufferings, so far as is consistent with his Honour and Glory, and the Interest of his Religion, when their Sufferings are necessary to do him Honour in the world, to recommend his Religion to others, and gain Converts to it, then he is *With* those he makes choice of to be his Martyrs and Confessors to strengthen and comfort, or inable them to bear their Sufferings with Joy and Patience, with a thankful and quiet Submission to his good will and pleasure: And when his Sufferings can either do honour to Christ, or Service to his Religion, he is unworthy of the name of a Christian, and can expect no portion in his Kingdom, that repines at, or seeks to decline them by Sinful means. This was the case of the Apostles, Christ was *with them* in the first sense, to deliver them from many Dangers, and all their Enemies, till they had accomplish'd their Ministry, preach'd the Gospel to the World, appointed others to succeed them in their great & holy Office, left his Religion in such a condition, that by his blessing and protection it was able not only to keep its

ground,

ground, but to make new conquests and spread it self farther in the World, but when this was done, and the time come for them to confirm or seal the truth of that, and to glorifie him by their Death, then he was *with them* in the other manner, to strengthen and support them in their Sufferings, to give them courage, patience, and resolution to lay down their Lives to give Testimony to his Truth.

And I see no reason why this promise should be restrain'd only to the Apostles, because all true Christians have great need of this presence of Christ, that he should be with them both to protect and defend them from their Enemies, and to help or support them in their Sufferings, and also because the time mentioned in it reaches farther than the Age the Apostles Lived in, *Loe (saith he) I am with you alway to the end of the world,* which if it be understood in the narrowest sense those words, *the end of the World,* are capable of, which is the destruction of the Jewish Nation by the Roman Army, yet none of the Apostles but St. *John* lived to see that dreadful period, and therefore it is most reasonably to understand it of the Apostles and the then Christians, whilst they lived, and of all true Christians in all Ages of the World, till time shall be no more.

And if we of this Nation will but call to mind the former mercies and kindness of our Lord, in what an eminent manner he hath been *with us* ever since the Reformation, how graciously and wonderfully he hath guarded us from our cruel Enemies of the *Romish Church,*

we can have no cause at all to distrust him for the future. How were the *Romish* Faction enraged at our Ancestours, because renouncing their Errours, Superstitions, and Innovations, they returned to the Pure and Primitive Christianity, and yet notwithstanding all their rage, fury, and restless endeavours to destroy it, it still continues, and I hope will do to the last period of the World. 'Tis true indeed Queen *Mary's* coming to the Crown (which she obtain'd notwithstanding all the Arts and Methods that were used to *Exclude* her) obscured and removed it for a time, so that it was publickly own'd only by the Martyrs and Confessors, but that, as was said of the *Julian* Persecution, was but a cloud and soon vanished away, for her Reign was short, and Popery in *England* died with her. For Queen *Elizabeth* succeeding her, Restored, Establish'd, or most firmly Setled the Reformed Religion, to the great Joy of the Nation, and the indignation of *Rome*, for that Faction were so incens'd and provoked as to try all ways to destroy that glorious Princess, and with her our Religion, hence proceeded frequent Treasons and Conspiracies to Poyson and Assassinate her, several Bulls from *Rome*, to forbid the Catholicks to come to our Churches, to Excommunicate the Queen, declare her fallen from all Dominion, to Absolve her Subjects from their Allegiance, and Excite them to take Arms against and depose her. And such was the rage of Pope *Pius Quintus* against her, that he declared he would be ready to aid in person, to spend all *St. Peters* Patrimony, all the Chalice

ces and Crosses of the Church, nay his very Cloaths to promote so good a work, as he thought her destruction to be: And when no clandestine or secret means succeeded, the King of *Spain* sent his Invincible *Armado* as it was arrogantly, and (as appeared by the event) falsely called to invade, and take her Kingdom from her, but all in vain, for the gracious and watchful providence of God preserv'd her, discover'd all the Treasons, defeated all the Attempts that were made against her, so that she died in peace and full of years.

The same good providence did also protect her most excellent Successor, King *James*, and the Parliament, from the Destruction intended for them, they being all by *Romish* Treachery and Cruelty appointed as sheep for the slaughter, and the Conspirators took all possible care to prevent discovery, so that it was little less than a Miracle that it was detected. and thereby disappointed.

But I need not look so far back, our present most gracious Sovereign being an Illustrious Instance or Proof of the certainty of those words of the Royal Prophet, *Great deliverance giveth he to his King, and sheweth mercy to his Anointed*: For hath not a tender providence shrowded him under its Wings, and confer'd the most Eminent blessings and deliverances upon him? How many dangers hath he been in? was he safe in *Scotland*, when in the hands of those Men that Rebelled against, and ruin'd his glorious Father? Was it not possible for him to have fell at *Worcester* by a murdering Bullet,

Psal. 18.
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or to be taken as he went off from that unfortunate Battell? Were there no searchings for no rewards offer'd to them that could give information where the Royal Wanderer was? Was the Oake such an Invincible fortress, such a sure defence, so safe an hiding place, as to afford him protection, if the power and providence of the most high had not guarded and overshadowed him? And hath not the same providence that protected him then, placed him upon the Throne of his Fathers, and preserv'd him from those two horrid *Conspiracies*, that of the *Romish*, and this of the *Fanatick* or Common-wealth Faction?

By all which you may know and see (if you do not wilfully shut your Eyes) that the Lord helpeth or saveth his Anoynted, that the Kings life is most dear and precious to him: That besides those you see (and so unjustly murmur at) he hath an invisible guard, the Angels of God, to be a Security and Defence to him. How then can the King be safer than under the Protection of the Almighty, and why should you doubt of his Future care of him, having such experience of the past deliverances he hath blessed him with? That God, who hath been *with*, and so miraculously preserv'd him all his life, will not withdraw his defence from him, unless the sins of his People provoke him to it: And your pressing His Majesty to so unjust an Act as the passing your *Bill*, gives the World just cause to suspect that you do not really desire his safety, for that cannot be had without the protection of God, which is to be obtain'd

ain'd only by the use of just and lawful means; And therefore if you sincerely desire it (as in duty and gratitude you are obliged) be not faithless but trust in God, and depend upon his Providence, you see he hath saved his Anoynted, and therefore have reason to believe he will do it still, especially if you, and all his People make it their frequent and earnest petition to him.

For Secondly, is there no Efficacy in Prayer? Do the pious and devout Supplications of holy and good men Prevail nothing with God? Do they Call down no blessings from Heaven? Conduce nothing to the safety and welfare of those that use them upon Earth? If not, mankind have been sadly deceiv'd; for in all Ages and Places of the World the constant custom hath been to invoke or call upon God, and in all their dangers and necessities to make addresses to him, in hopes to be heard, protected, and supply'd by his Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, for if this had not been their hope or expectation, they would never have done the other, for to what purpose should men supplicate such a Being as hath no kindness for, and refuses to help them, takes no notice of, makes no return to the petitions that are put up to him. 'Tis true indeed, most Nations of the World have been so ignorant as to present their Prayers to a wrong Object, to invoke false and imaginary Deities, that could neither hear nor help them, but they thought them to be wise and powerful, and the dispensors of all manner of blessings, otherwise

they would never have gone to their Temples, nor approach'd their Altars, nor lifted up their hands, and hearts, and voices to them. But we, thanks be to God, understand better than to be guilty of such gross and impious Errours, we direct our Prayers to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is pleased to be called (as by one of his most eminent titles of honour,) *a God hearing Prayer*, and commands us to make our devout addresses to him, nay invites us to do it with great and gracious promises, *It shall come to pass that before they call I will answer, and whilst they are yet speaking I will hear*: So propense is the Divine Goodness to help all Pious People, that it will not stay to be asked, but prevents them many times with great and eminent blessings, and therefore much more will he do it when they humbly beg such favours of him as their present exigences require. Are they in trouble or danger, *Call upon me* (saith this most merciful Being) *in the time of trouble I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me*. And lest any man should think his condition not capable of help, suppose his dangers or wants too great to be averted or reliev'd by his Prayers, our Lord hath given us that most large and comprehensive promise, *verily, verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the father in my name, he will give it you*: Not every thing indefinitely, but whatsoever good thing, holy and good men rightly ask of him for a good End, he assures us God will give it, if the persons praying be pious and holy, the things pray'd for just and lawful, the
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Esa. 65.

24.

St. Jo. 16.

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end for which they are desired good, if they be asked in Faith with submission to his holy will and pleasure, with a pious importunity and dependance upon him, then the Prayer is within our Saviours promise, and of great efficacy with God, so St. James affirms, *The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man* Chap. 5: *availeth much*, is of such mighty Power with 16. God that St. Paul commands us, *to be careful of* Phil. 4.6. *nothing* (not to vex or disquiet, trouble or torment our selves with dreadful apprehensions of the dangers that threaten and compass us, not to say, how shall we escape, what shall we do to decline the rage and cruelty of our Enemies) *but in every thing by Prayer and Supplication with thanks-giving, let our requests be made known unto God*, do but recommend your selves to God in holy and frequent Prayer, with thankful acknowledgments of his former Mercies, and you need trouble your selves no farther, but leave the event to him, who will either give you deliverance here, or that which is better and more desirable, eternal happiness and Salvation hereafter. The more and greater our dangers are, the more frequent and fervent our Prayers and Devotions ought to be, for when all other helps and means have failed, these have procured the most eminent blessings and deliverances, the Church in all Ages hath experienced the benefit and advantage of them, for the Prayers of holy men have saved Cities and Kingdoms from Ruin, obtain'd Victories, done Miracles, shut and opened Heaven. By the Prayer of Moses the *Amalekites*, the most malicious

licious Enemies of the People of *Israel* were, vanquish'd; by the Prayer of *Asa* the *Ethiopi-ans* their most numerous Enemies were discomfited; And by the Prayer of *Isaiab* and *Hezekiah* the vast Army of *Sennacherib* was destroy'd by an Angel, the Siege of *Jerusalem* rais'd, and he return'd into his own Land, where he fell by the Swords of his own Sons.

And if the devout Prayers of holy men have been so advantageous and successful in former Ages, how come they to have lost their power and efficacy now, or to be of such small credit with Christians, that they dare not trust to them, and other lawful means, but seek to secure themselves by those that are sinful and unrighteous? May not we expect the same help and benefit by them, which they have afforded others in their dangers and distresses? yes certainly! And therefore let it be our care, as it is both our wisdom and duty, to make use of these, to put up Supplications, Prayers, and Intercessions; First for the King, that God will give him along Life, a secure & happy Reign, save or deliver him from all his Enemies, *hide him from the gathering together of the froward, and from the Insurrection of the wicked doers*, discover and defeat all the Counsels and Conspiracies of Traytors, that they may fall into the Pit which at any time they dig, and be taken in the Snare which they are so Impious as to lay for him.

For his Royal Highness, that God will preserve him from the hands of Violence, from the cruel, bloody Zeal of *Fanatick* Spirits, that
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he will be graciously pleased (if he be a Papist) to inlighten him with the knowledg of the Truth, to convert him to this Pure and Holy Church, *that he may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.*

For our Religion, humbly beseeching the great and glorious Author of it, that he will be pleased to preserve and continue it to us, and our posterity for ever, that though our sinful and unsutable lives deserve so sad and fearful a Judgment, yet that he will be merciful to us, not suffer his Truth to fail amongst, nor his Gospel to be taken from us. And that he will be pleased to keep us from dishonouring our Religion, by using any unjust or unlawful means for the Defence and Preservation of it, lest whilst we appear Zealous in such a way for the true, we run into such errors & extravagancies, as will give the World just cause to think that we have really no Religion at all:

If these things were piously and frequently recommended to the Divine Goodness, both in publick and private, by all that in this Nation profess the Reformed Religion, we should soon see the Blessed effects of, and obtain a Gracious answer to such Prayers. And therefore before we trouble our selves about any more, let us try this most excellent *Expedient*, which hath in all Ages done such wonders in the World, let us make our devout *Addresses* to Heaven as constant as we apprehend our dangers either are, or may be: Let the Houses of God, the sacred Places set apart for Prayer or Invocation of his name be more frequented and resorted
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to, *Let us go into his Sanctuary, and fall low upon our Knees before his footstool, lifting up unto him holy hands without wrath and doubting.* And let our own Houses be Temples, or Houses of Prayer, in which at morning and evening, and at noon day, let us be sure to pray, and that instantly for the safety of the King, and the Royal Family, and the preservation of our Excellent Religion, as it is now by Law Establish'd, *that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.* Let us be so wise as to consecrate large portions of our time to, and be frequent in Prayer, esteem it an high and eminent expression of Love and Loyalty to your Prince, and of Zeal for our Religion to commend them often to the care and protection of the Almighty : No Man can have such a multitude or hurry of Affairs, but that, as Religion obliges him, he may spare some time every day to be spent in devotion, and it will be no interruption to them if he often present that short, but most comprehensive petition of our Liturgy to Heaven, *Ob Lord save the King.*

But if any think, that as the surly and stubborn Devil in the Gospel could not be cast, so Popery cannot be kept out by Prayer alone, add Fasting to it, and see what they will do united ; for these two together have ever been accounted of great efficacy to remove the Miseries that People lay under, and to avert the Dangers and Calamities they feared. When that dreadful doom was by *Jonah* denounc'd against it, *Yet forty days and Niniveh shall be destroyed.*

strey'd, the King Proclaimed a Fast, and the People observed it, heartily bewail'd their Sins, cry'd mightily to God for Mercy, *And he saw their works, and repented of the Evil that he said he would do unto them, and he did it not.* And if we take this course, humble and afflict our Souls with Fasting, Lament, or be heartily Sorry for our Sins, our Prayers will be very effectual and successful, such prevalent Orators in the Court of Heaven, that none of them will return empty, but bring down the choicest Blessings with them.

Holy vows too do not only express the earnestness of our desires, but enforce or add Efficacy to our Prayers, when *Jacob* was to take his Journey to *Padan Aram*, he made a vow unto the Lord, saying, *If God will be with me, and keep me in the way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my Fathers house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set for a pillar, shall be Gods house, and of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto thee.* So may we say (but then as he did we must be sure to perform our vow) If the Lord will be with us, and keep us from the Romish Superstition, Cruelties, and Oppressions, then shall he be our God, him will we Love, Adore, and Magnifie, and his Laws shall be so dear to us, that we will Reverence, Obey, or Live according to them all our days, and we will express our grateful sence of so high a favour, by setting apart liberal portions of our Estates to Pious and Charitable uses, there shall be no want as
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Gen. 28.
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of Churchesto Worshiphim in, so of Maintenance for his Priests, the Impropriations which Popish Avarice and Sacriledg alienated, shall by Protestant Piety and Charity be restored, and plentiful provision made all over the Nation (if it be not sufficiently done already) for the relief of the Poor, that our very Enemies seeing our good works may be converted to us.

For to endear the Providence of God over us, and to strengthen or enforce our Prayers, our care must be to obey our Religion, to lead the most pure and Christian Lives, that the admirable purity of our Doctrine may not lye hid in the Books and Monuments of our Church, but display its beauties in our Lives and Actions. This will be most Acceptable or Pleasing to God, render us his Joy and Care; Then he will keep us in Peace and Safety, delight to do us Good, suffer none to do us Harm or Violence, but Destroy our Enemies; and Plague them that hate us; this is to commit our selves to him in well doing, and will invite him to be very tender of, and watchful over us.

A Nation of such Livers would be a fair, though imperfect resemblance of Heaven both in their purity and safety. If there had been but ten such just Men amongst the mighty crowd of Sinners in *Sodom*, God would have spared them all for their Sakes, their Piety would have been a protection and security to that brutish Rabble, that not only refused to imitate, but hated and derided them for it.

They that destroy holy and good men, do themselves the greatest harm and mischief, not only

only because they shall be fearfully punish'd after this Life for the Cruel and Injurious usage they offer'd them, have Judgment without mercy because they shew'd no mercy, but also because when they, who by their Prayers and Piety kept the heavy Wrath and Vengeance of God from falling on their guilty heads, are removed, they will descend upon them in the most dreadful manner, and with the most destructive fury.

A good Life, setting providence aside, is of it self a great preservative, as it keeps Men from running into needless dangers, from doing injuries, and thereby giving provocation to others: Some bring misery and ruin upon themselves by the Slanders and Calumnies they are guilty of, some by Frauds, Rapines, and Oppressions, many by Violence and Murders, multitudes by Treasons and Seditious, others by Lust and Intemperance, some undo themselves by one Sin, and some by another, besides the fearful and eternal Punishments they bring upon themselves after this life: all which are avoyded by a Pious and Christian Conversation, and if all men were truly holy and religious, and would continue so, they would be perfectly safe or free from danger, for all the sufferings and dangers of the good proceed from them that either cast off all Religion and Fear of God, or if they profess, do not practise it, but make it a Cloak of Maliciousness, a Cover for all manner of Injustice, Oppressions, and Cruelties. These, as they always hate, so they are continually plotting against
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the just, and watch all opportunities to do them harm and injury, but God is their helper and defender, he knows the dangers that threaten, and the malice of their Enemies against them, and if he take them into his protection, they do in vain conspire or attempt against them.

To say a Being so wise, and powerful and merciful as God is, that hath by so many and great expressions of his Goodness proved himself a Father and a Friend to, or Lover of mankind, takes no notice or care of them, is to say the falsest and most unreasonable of all things, because it is either to deny Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, or to make them Superfluous, or of no use at all: And if he protect or take care of any, 'tis most reasonable to suppose the just and pious persons are those he extends that favour to, because they do in some measure resemble him, and are the only Persons he delights in, for, *The Eyes of the Lord* (saith the Prophet) *are over the Righteous, and his Ears are open to their Prayers*, that is, he loves and favours them highly, hears them graciously, and therefore guards or defends them carefully. This is so certain, that it is a very hard (if not impossible) thing to find any Nation or People professing his Truth, and obeying his Laws, whilst they continue in that profession and obedience, so forsaken by God as to be given up to the will of their Enemies, to be Ruin'd (that is) and destroy'd by them: Their Zeal for his Glory, their Reverence for his Laws, their Piety and Holiness must decline and degenerate before he will cast them off, particular persons though of
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or send them both out of the World by a barbarous Assassination.

I believe divers of you are Innocent of this black and great offence, and do heartily abhor it, but it cannot be deny'd that this *Project of Exclusion* hath produced, or caused this *Treason*. To say you did not intend it, may in some of you be acknowledg'd to be true, but then you should have consider'd how dangerous (as well as sinful) it is to venture upon any unjust or unlawful means for the attaining any good whatsoever, because error is a boundless thing, and when men are once drawn into it, they know not where to stop, but run on still, proceed from bad to worse, fall from one wickedness to another, and never come into Gods Righteousness.

So that it is the highest wisdom, as well as his indispensable duty, for every Man to keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that is Right, to do no evil nor unjust thing upon any inducement, or for any end whatsoever, because, whatever happens in the mean time, this will be sure to bring a man Peace and Salvation at the last. God hath given us a most just and holy Law to live by, teaching us, as all Piety to Him, so all Loyalty to his Anointed, actually to obey all our Princes Lawful commands, and patiently to suffer what punishments he is pleased to inflict for our non-performance of those things, which he requires in opposition to the Law of God, if at any time through Error or Mistake he impose any such. This promotes the Honour and

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Glory of God, the Safety and Felicity of Princes, and the Peace or Tranquillity of the World. They that keep to this rule can never suffer as Traytors and Evil-doers, but if they suffer at all, it must be for Well-doing, for their obedience to God and his Laws, and then most happy or blessed are they, because they will have the joys and comfort of a good Conscience to ease and sweeten their Sufferings, and God will support them under them, and give them a great reward in his Heavenly Kingdom. Every Man that doth his duty to God and his Prince, that commits himself to the care and keeping of the Almighty by a just and pious Conversation, hath all the safety and security that can possibly be had, or reasonably desir'd in this World, for if God protects any, these in all probability are the Persons that may expect, and obtain that favour from him. Besides, what temptation or inducement can Princes have to oppress or injure, to ruin or destroy good, peaceable, and harmless People, that pay them all due honour, and obey them as far as is consistent with their duty to God? None, none at all, which makes the Apostle say, *Who is he that will harm you, if you be followers of that which is Good?* Every Man that hath any Religion or fear of God will be both afraid and ashamed to do it, for if he Persecute and Destroy such Innocent People, they shall be saved and shine with Christ in Heavenly Glory, but he shall suffer the terrours of an evil Conscience, ly under the sense of Gods displeasure here, and whe

1 St. Pet.

3. 13.

When he Passes out of this World, (Cruelty being commonly short lived,) have an intolerable portion with the Unjust and Oppressors, with the Blood Thirsty and Persecutors, in the black Regions of Eternal Sorrow and Misery. But when Men seek to save or secure themselves from dangers (whether real or imaginary) by unjust or unlawfull means (such as this *Project of Exclusion* is) these instead of averting, invite and hasten their approach, nay multiply and increase them, instead of making a way for them to escape, intangle them so, that they grow desperate, and resolve upon the most bloody, villanous, and wicked Enterprizes, such as this Treason is. For besides that it is an open affront and defiance to all the Laws of God, the breaking all those Sacred Bonds asunder, with which he ties the hands of Subjects from doing violence to his Anointed, an insolent slighting the dreadful Judgments and most terrible Punishments he hath inflicted upon such presumptuous Sinners, as if they thought Heaven had wasted all its Artillery, spent all its Thunderbolts upon the Traytors of former times, and had no Vengeance in store for them that now Conspire the Death of Princes, or else believed the Righteous God was so partiall as to discover and punish none but Popish Traitors, so that they might commit the same execrable crime in Zeal against Popery, and be, if not innocent, yet safe, and have no harm, nor danger happen to them, Besides this contempt, I say, of Gods Commands and Judgments, those forbidding Treason

son as a crime most damnable, these confounding Traitors, and hurrying them away to Hell with a swift and dreadful destruction, how have those of your Party engaged in this barbarous Conspiracy, shamed all your former Professions and Pretences? For was not this the great Plea for your *Bill of Exclusion*, the mighty Argument with which you press'd the Passing, and thought to justify or maintain the Lawfulness of it, That it was the *only Expedient*, as to suppress Popery, so to save the King, to preserve his most precious life from the Treachery and Cruelty of that Faction. You made the Nation believe, that you could be content to run all hazards, to expose your selves to all dangers, to endure any hardships or miseries, if the King was but safe, and guarded from the hands of violence, and all the bloody attempts of the *Romish* Party. These things looked fair and plausible, and some that loved the King thought them real, and were deluded into a good opinion of your Proceedings, but now the Masque is off, and those of you that were engaged in this Hellish design, have no Cloak nor Covering for their Treachery, for, *though their words were softer than butter, yet they had War in their hearts, though their speeches were kind and fair, smother than oyl, yet were they very Swords*: They tender of the Kings most precious life, and studious to preserve him from harm and danger? Who can, or will believe it? If they were so then, why did they Plot to destroy him since? What hath the King done to merit or deserve their wrath? If they really design'd

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and desired his Preservation before, why did they resolve to Murder him now? Had not the King as great Reason as they to consult his own safety, and doth not the admirable wisdom he shews in the conduct of all his great Affairs, demonstrate him best able to judg what ways and methods would be most conducive to the attaining so desirable an end? So that their Plotting his destruction since proclaims to all the World, that they did not really desire to save him from the Papists then, or if they did, that it was because they intended to kill him themselves; and that in the same manner the Papists design'd to destroy him, even by surprise, to come upon him unawares, and *cut him off from amongst the living*, which is most Treacherous and Base, Cursed Cruelty and Cowardise joyn'd together. A Brave and Valiant Enemy would scorn to treat the most hated person so, or to rob any Man of such a Jewel as his Life in such a vile and sneaking manner; Men of any Courage or Gallantry (though wicked) could not be so base Spirited as to steal upon two of the bravest Princes in the World, and knock them on the head: But this is right *Fanatick* Practise, for that savage and barbarous Faction is both most cruel and base, it thirsts after and delights in Blood, the Blood of Princes, and attempts to shed it by Surprise and Treachery.

And if enquiry be made, what moved them to this execrable Conspiracy, what irritated or enraged them thus against the King, it will be found to be nothing but pure Malice, that they

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they had no ill usage offer'd, no provocation given to tempt them to such a wickedness ; for the King is Inferiour to none of his Renowned Ancestors in Justice, Mercy, Kindness to, and Care of his People, the Laws are the measures of his Government, he neither exhausts his Subjects by Arbitrary Exactions, nor consumes them by Needless Wars, but is pleas'd to make it his constant Care and Study to Preserve them in Piety, Peace, and Plenty. What detestable Villany and Ingratitude is it then, for any of his People to requite his Love with Hatred, the most Cruel and Deadly Hatred, to Conspire together not to let him Live, under whose Peaceful, Mild, and Equal Government they are blessed above all the People of the World, and happy to the admiration of all their Neighbour Nations.

, 'Tis true indeed, no Injuries, Oppressions, or Cruelties from their Prince, can ever Warrant, or make it Lawful for Subjects to Conspire his Death, or to take Arms against him, *for if they resist* (much more if they invade or assault him) *St. Paul tells them they shall receive to themselves Damnation:* But yet when their Treasons are causeless and unprovoked, as this was, they must needs be most Wicked and Damnable, because they have nothing but the Devil and meer Malice to instigate the Impious Wretches to them.

And if this execrable Treason had succeeded, what a deplorable Condition had the People been in ? Instead of a most just and merciful Prince, who Loves, and is a Father to them ,
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they had been Slaves to, and groan'd under the Cruelties and Oppressions of God knows how many merciless Tyrants: The City, in which Justice used to Reign, would have been full of Bloud and Violence: The Country where the happy People enjoy'd their Estates in peace and safety, would have been turned into a Den of Thieves and Murderers. When this doleful Tragedy had been noys'd abroad, all the Loyal and Good People of the Nation would have been seiz'd with Horrour and Amazement, drown'd in Tears, expres'd their deep and vehement Sorrow with hideous Outcries and Lamentations, have filled Heaven and Earth with Complaints and doleful Exclamations: Their Ruin too would have been great and inevitable, their Lives expos'd to the armed Violence, their Estates to the insatiable Rapine and Avarice of those bloody Villains that kill'd the King; For they that could have the heart to smite the Shepherd, would they have took any Pity of, or have Spared the Flock? No, no! The Loyal Party would have tasted the same bitter fate with their Prince, their bloudy Swords would have made havock of all that stood in their way, Death and Slaughter would have Reign'd every where, the whole Nation would have been an *Aceldama*, a great burying place. The *French* and *Irish* Massacres, and all the Cruelties, of Ancient and Modern times, had been petty things in compare with this black Tragedy, a Conspiracy so execrable and villanous, that it will exceed the Faith of the next, as,

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much as it doth the Expression of the present Age.

And if you will according to our Saviours Rule (which is the surest way of Judging) *judg of the Tree by the Fruit it bears*, you cannot but see how impious your *Project of Exclusion* is, that hath brought forth such fruit, prompted some of the Zealots for it, with other Wicked Wretches, to such a damnable Conspiracy as this, which would (if not prevented by the Infinite goodness of God) have cut off the King and his Royal Highness, undone all his good Subjects, and ruin'd Three flourishing Kingdoms, that would have *Excluded* or Banish'd all Peace, Piety, and Happiness, and let in Profaneness, Oppression, and Misery.

So that if you will speak the Truth, you must acknowledg your crime to be exceeding great, in making choice of such a sinful *Expedient*, and if you desire to be forgiven, your Repentance must be equal to your Crime, that is, you must confess and forsake it.

Confess it to God, and beseech him to forgive the great Offence you have committed against him.

Go to the King, and humbly beg his Pardon, that you should cause him so much danger, bring his most precious Life into so great Peril, that you should advise or propose any thing, that minister'd occasion or temptation to violent and blood thirsty men, to attempt any thing either against his Person or Government : or that you should do any thing to create trouble and vexation to his Royal Soul, or destroy his quiet
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and tranquillity. Let him know how much you are grieved for these your Errours and Offences, and that you should be ashamed to live, but that you hope his Royal Clemency will forgive, and your unfeigned Loyalty for the future make reparation for what you have done amiss.

Go to his Royal Highness, and confess the horrid injuries, the high and shameful injustice you have offer'd him, that forgetting the Honour due to him as a Prince, you have treated him most rudely and despitefully, so that by the Law of Retaliation he might return the same severe measure to you, that you have tender'd to him, that as you have proudly and disdainfully said of him, as the stubborn Jews did of Christ, *We will not have this Man Rule over us*,

so he, if he ever come to be King, may say concerning you with the Prince in the Gospel *But those mine enemies, which would not that I should Reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me.* St. Luke 19. 27.

'Tis certain that by your unjust and unworthy behaviour towards him, you have given the Duke great provocation, which nothing but Repentance can appease, for when nothing else can do it, Submission and Sorrowful Acknowledgment of the error or offence committed will pacifie a brave and generous person, as his Royal Highness is. Let this then be your method, go to him, and acknowledg the injuries you have done him, and humbly beg his pardon, beseech him as *Shimei* did King *David*, *not to impute iniquity to you, neither to remember what you did perversly in the days*

of

of fear and danger, when the rumours of Popery, and the discovery of the horrid Conspiracy of the Papists frightened you almost out of your wits, tell him that men in a great fright are apt to run into extravagancies, neither know, nor consider what they do, but say and do such things, which at other times they would be ashamed of, humbly represent to him that some allowances are to be made you upon that account, and though nothing can excuse, yet his generosity can, and you hope will forgive the high offences you have committed against him, which if he please to do, you will never more provoke or injure, but love, honour, and treat him as the Son, and Brother of a King, and Heir apparent to these three Kingdoms. This is all the reparation you can make, the best satisfaction you can give him for your past offence, and if you do this, there is no doubt but he will forgive you. Princes resemble their glorious Founder, both in their Power to punish, and their proneness to forgive the injuries and indignities that are committed against them, and as Repentance renders him Merciful and Propitious, turns away his Displeasure, so it excites their Compassion, and pacifies their Wrath; but as God will not, so they have no obligation to Pardon those that against all Reason and Religion Sin against them, and when they have done it, refuse to Repent. That you have done the first, highly injured his Royal Highness, is as evident as any thing can be; Be sure then to make your Repentance as publick as your crime hath been, and do not doubt but it will be

be effectual to obtain your pardon. The Duke can, and will forgive you upon your hearty sorrow for, and humble confession of your offence, and you reproach and injure him more, if you think he hath, or will shew no mercy, than you have done by your past misbehaviour towards him, though your Sin against him be high and hainous, yet do not say with Cain, *it is greater than can be forgiven*, for this apprehension (I believe) prompted the Zealots of your Party (whom their guilt made desperate) to conspire his Death, according to the known Maxim of the wicked Politicians, who say, *That bad Actions must be seconded with worse, and lesser injuries pursued with greater*, the injurious person not thinking himself safe, till he hath taken from the injur'd all possibility of revenge : What barbarous, nay devilish methods are these, without any provocation or cause at all to wrong an Innocent Prince, and then for fear they should at one time or other be called to account for it, seek to secure themselves by doing him a greater ; First against all the Rules of Justice, the Dictates of right Reason, and the Laws of Religion, attempt to rob him of his Birth-right, and when that wicked imagination did not prosper or take effect, instead of Repenting of it, consult or agree together to take away his Life, because the dead cannot revenge the injuries that are done them: But is there then no God that judgeth in the Earth ? Or if there be, doth not he behold ungodliness and wrong, that he may take the matter into his hand ; punish the accursed

Authors

Authors of them with dreadful inflictions here, or if for reasons unknown to us, he forbear them now, with the most horrible damnation hereafter. Such men as these are so far from making the high and noble Precepts of Christ the measures of their Actions, that they fall short of the lower Justice, Mercy, and Integrity of the Heathens; nay proceed according to the wild, Villanous, and Atheistical Principles of the *Leviathan*, and instead of reproving their detestable practices by producing the words of Christ, or any of his Apostles, I may bespeak them in those of that wise and honest Heathen *Diphilus* the Comœdian, ὁρᾷ δὲ οὗτοι δοκεῖτε ἔκ ἐνταῦθα δὲν, ἔστιν γὰρ ἔστιν, look to it you that think there is no God! there is, there is: If any man do ill (as you have done a great evil) let him think time is gain, for he shall certainly suffer for what he hath done amiss. The punishment of such men lingers & is defer'd for a time, but it will be sure to come, and that the heavier at last, and by its greatness make amends for the slowness of its approach. And therefore that neither the horror of your Offence, nor your fears of Punishment make you desperate, and push you on to such dreadful crimes as they prompted the Conspirators to, take the first opportunity to reconcile your selves to his Royal Highness, by confessing the injuries you have done him, and begging his pardon for them; but then you must not only confess, but renounce and forsake them, meddle no more, I mean, with the Succession, but cast your *Bill* out of Doors, as a monstrous and abominable Brat, conceiv'd

ceiv'd by Fear, nurs'd by Faction, born to do mischief and bring forth Treasons, Murders, and all manner of Miseries, Be you its Judges to pass Sentence, and see Execution done upon it, for nothing can be more just, than to cast that into the fire which tended so apparently to put the Kingdom into a Combustion.

Be careful to undeceive the People too, whom by your mighty Zeal for, and resolute Adherence to it, you have drawn to an high esteem and admiration of your *Projects of Exclusion*, and thereby prepared for Tumults, Seditions, and all manner of violent and unlawful Practises. Your Votes are of such Authority with all the factious and discontented people, that they think them, if not equal to Holy Scripture, yet the best Commentary upon it, and will follow your Marginal Notes rather than the sacred Text: Consider then what a dangerous thing it is to instil bad Principles into the People, who are of themselves too prone to run into Errours and Extravagancies, and therefore instead of Goads to excite, they need Bridles to restrain them from them: That they who are apt to think justice or honesty a superfluous or needless virtue now under the Gospel, and perswade themselves that Christ fulfil'd all Righteousness on purpose to free those that believe in him from the practice of it, will be Confirm'd in their pernicious Errour, when they see iniquity establish'd by Law, and a most unjust thing done for the Defence and Security of Reformed Christianity: Nay, which is more horrid, some will think, that

that which Men call Religion, no Divine Institution, but meer Humane Invention, because if it come from God, the professors of it may safely commend or commit it to his Protection, his Care and Keeping, it being most reasonable to suppose, that he loves his own Institutions, and is concern'd in honour to preserve them from the attempts of those that seek to destroy them: But when Men are so busy and forward to support and secure their Religion by unjust and evil Arts, think it so weak and helpless a thing that it is not able to shift for it self, to maintain or keep its ground without the assistance of sinful and unlawful succours, This tempts the suspicious to think it a meer humane invention; for if it be of God, it needs no sin to uphold it, and they who do evil in defence of it, incur his wrath as *Uzzah* did, who put forth his hand to stay the tottering Ark, which he apprehended to be falling. Nothing of divine institution can possibly fall or perish, so long as the Almighty Author of it is pleas'd to uphold and protect it, but when he withdraws his support, and it is his pleasure that it fall, all the power and policy of Men cannot keep it up, though they use the best and most pious methods to that purpose. Princes and Magistrates discern may & ought to do every thing that is just and innocent, for the safety of the true Religion, but if they use any wicked or forbidden means to protect and defend it, these by the just Judgments of God increase the danger, both hasten and render the fall of it more

more ruinous and shameful, it dies certainly because God hath determin'd it shall, and that with reproach, and consequently leaves an ill name behind it, not by its own Demerit, but by the Errours and evil Practices of its lovers and admirers.

Now whatever Errours either of Judgement or Practice, this Device of yours leads any of the People into, and whatever Ruin or Miseries they thereby bring upon themselves, either in this World or in the other, all these you are answerable, and will be called to a sad reckoning for, if not before, yet in that great day when the Righteous God shall bring every work into Judgement, with every secret thing whether it be good or evil, if you do not prevent it in time by rectifying their mistakes, and changing their opinions of it, which you may easily do, by representing to them faithfully and plainly the great Injustice and Impiety of it, that Religion Condemns, Right Reason and common Honesty Forbids it, that it is Evil in it self, Dangerous to the King, and Mischievous to the People, and therefore to be *abhor'd* not *admired*, *rejected*, not *chosen*: Such a Declaration as this from you will recover the People out of the Errour and Snare into which you have drawn them, and reclaim them from doting on it; but if you do it not, so long as they have your Persons in Admiration, and cry up your Opinions as Oracles, they will be very difficultly, if at all, convinced of the Injustice of it, and you omit that which is necessary to compleat your Repentance, and consequently to obtain your Pardon

Pardon from all whom you have thereby injured and offended. If you do the other, God will be merciful, his Anoynted forgive, and his Royal Highness be reconcil'd to you, then it will be well with you, and happy shall you be.

Subject. 6.

Well, but you will say, if we lay aside this *Expedient*, will not the *Romans* come and take away our Place and Nation? must our Religion, our King, and all that is Dear to us be endanger'd by the *Papists*, and shall we do nothing for our Defence, and Security? This is an hard saying who can bear it? As for the *Romans* there is no doubt but they will recover their lost Sovereignty, and set up their Religion here if they can (though it be a great question whether they can do it) and we should be very much to blame, and perish cheaply, if we do not use all fair and lawful means to preserve ourselves. But as for those that are unjust and sinful (as I have proved this *Project* of yours to be) as they will do us no good, so we have no need to use them.

For first, Is there no God, nor Providence? doth not he that made, Govern the World? Hath he no care of, nor concern for them that profess his Truth, and reverence or obey his Laws? That he is, you do not Question; and you have no Reason to doubt the other, because St. *Peter* expressly affirms it, calling upon us to cast

1 Epist. 5. our care upon him, because he careth for us: Hath
7. our Lord, who, when he was upon Earth, did with so much Labour, and so many Sufferings purchase

great Innocence and Vertues, may, and do frequently suffer in this World, but then their Crowns are brighter, and their Reward greater for it, in that which is to come: but as for Societies of pious and good People, if they be not rewarded upon Earth, they cannot be rewarded at all, their present Peace, Safety, and Prosperity being all the recompence they can receive from God as a Nation: And it is a truth attested by the observation and experience of all the World, that Judgments seldom (if ever) come, Calamity and Ruin rarely fall upon a People, till their great and general contempt of his Laws provokes the Almighty to inflict them.

Let it be our earnest care and endeavour therefore to become a righteous Nation, and an holy People, make it appear that we truly love our Religion by leading the pure and blameless Lives it requires of us, then we shall be as safe and happy, as we can possibly be in this World, for the tender Providence of God will watch over and preserve our King and Us, either make our Enemies to be at Peace with, or deprive them of all Power to hurt us, then the Truth shall flourish in this our Earth, and our excellent Religion take such deep root in the Nation, that no power nor policy either of Devils or Men shall be able to hurt or destroy it.

These as they are innocent, so they are sure preservatives, which every Man may, and ought to make use of: And besides these, we have excellent Laws which are a mighty safe-guard and defence both to the King, and the Establish'd

Religion, so that we want nothing for our security, having the gracious Providence of God to guard and protect us, if we commend ourselves to it by devout Prayer, and holy Living, and such Laws to be a preservative to us, that it is a vain thing to attempt either to mend or multiply them, because if these cannot secure us none can.

Subject: 7. All that can be done more is to remove the Scandals, or whatever may give his Royal Highness (supposing him to be a Papist) any cause to be offended at our Church, for though it be not just to blame that for the Errours and Misdemeanours of them that either are, or pretend to be of it, because it gives no countenance nor encouragement to them, yet seeing our adversaries take every occasion to asperse it, 'tis both prudent and necessary to take out of the way whatever may have any colour or appearance of a just objection against it, create in him an ill Opinion either of Us, or the Religion we profess; These may be reduced to Three Heads, The lamentable Schisms or Divisions that are amongst us, The open Prophaneness and Wickedness into which the Nation is lapsed, The great Injustice and Indignities that have been offer'd to the Duke himself.

First, The lamentable Schisms or Divisions amongst us, there being no where more sharp and bitter contentions, more implacable feuds and quarrels, such numerous and peevish Sects, as amongst us that profess the most Pure and Primitive Christianity : for by the just judgment

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of God (our Adversaries say) ever since we departed from the Catholick Church (so they call the *Roman*) like the Dove that went out of the Ark, we can find no rest for the Soles of our Feet, cannot agree amongst our selves, nor follow that Peace, without which and holiness, the Apostle affirms, *no Man shall see the Lord*, but divide and subdivide, separate or run from one another, and are become a very *Babel* or Confusion. This they object against, and think a mighty reproach to us, nay take it for a sure Prognostick of the approaching fall and ruin of our Church, because our Lord affirms, *that an House or Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand*, which they use as an Artifice to draw People from us.

To this I answer, that it is true indeed, our Schisms or Divisions are great and deplorable, that we are broken into Sects and Factions, are a distracted and divided Nation : But then the Question is, how we came to be so, and what the causes are from which they spring. That the guilt of them doth not ly upon our Church is certain, because it gives no just provocation to any to Seperate from the Communion of it : it teaches no False nor Erroneous Doctrines, makes no new Articles of Faith, nor any other Conditions of Salvation, but those propounded and requir'd as such in Scripture : It sets up no forbidden Way of Worship, presumes not to enlarge the Essentials of it, or to make any thing a part of Gods Worship, which he hath not ijoynd as such. 'Tis true indeed, our Church determins the modes and circum-

stances of it, because all Churches do it, and they are not determin'd in Scripture, and are so necessary to be determin'd, that unless it be done, the Essentials or Moral part of Gods Worship cannot be perform'd, and because the leaving them Arbitrary would produce endless disorders and confusions: But then these Ceremonies are not culpable as to their number, unlawful in themselves, as contrary to the word of God, sinful in their use, as being made means of grace, or having any holiness ascribed to them, or so highly esteemed as to be thought necessary to recommend, or render the worship it self acceptable or pleasing to God, nor made of perpetual obligation, but are declared to be mutable Constitutions, or such as may be changed or varied as occasion serves, nay quite abolish'd or taken away upon just causes, by the same Authority that Instituted or Ordained them. The Government also of our Church by the Right Reverend Bishops is that which is Commended in Scripture, was Instituted by Christ, Setled by his Apostles, and hath Continued in the Catholick Church without any opposition, till *Aerius* first, and the Disciples of *Calvin* since, resisted, and where they had power, cast it out. I appeal then to all the wise and sober World, whether the Schisms and Divisions amongst us be not causeless and unprovoked, there being no just offence given, nothing done by our Church to fright or drive the People from the Communion of it, or prompt them to set up several Meetings. And if the Divisions we are afflicted with cannot be truly

truly charged upon the Church, where must the Blame ly, or who shall father the base and mischievous Brat.

They that lay it at the Jesuits door, charge them to be both the beginners and continuers of the Schisms amongst us, have reason for what they say, because the Zealots of that Church think every thing lawful that tends to the good and advantage of the Catholick Cause : And nothing can be more serviceable to that than our Divisions and Quarrels: divide and rule, is a Maxim approved by all the Wicked Politicians ; If they can but set those they would master at strife and variance, they conclude they will thereby so weaken and consume one another as to become an easy prey to them. Such Divisions Produce deadly feuds and quarrels, implacable hatreds and animosities, and are the Causes of cruel Wars ; for Differences in Religion are for the most part managed with such heat and passion, that the contenders proceed from words to blows, from disputing to fighting for their beloved Opinions, or if they forbear that for a time, yet in any exigences of State or Publick dangers, they will not afford one another that mutual help and assistance, which are necessary for their preservation, but one party will look on, and see the other subdued, if not lend their helping hands to destroy them : But the more united any people are, the better able they must needs be to defend themselves against a common Enemy, but being broken into Sects and Factions, their strength is Little, and not Sufficient to repel

the assaults of their Enemies. *Cyrus*, as *Herodotus* relates, intending to Conquer *Syrina*, came to a great River that stop'd his march, for as it ran in one channel or current it would have Endanger'd his Army, Swallowed them up if they had ventured to ford it, whereupon he made use of this Stratagem, to cut or divide it into many parts, rivulets, and sluces, which so weaken'd its force that they pass'd over without any danger at all: This seems to be the Policy of the Jesuits in dividing us, for if all our people kept within their proper Channel, our Church, the attempts of *Rome* would signify nothing, but like a mighty torrent we should easily bear down all opposition, be strong enough to defend ourselves against them; but the Sects and Factions they have caused amongst us, weaken and give them great advantages against us; For hereby many are Scandaliz'd and turn Papists, because they think the Contentions we are engaged in will be sure to ruin us at last, and therefore imagin themselves safer in *St. Peters* boat, than in a ship so leaky and full of breaches, as our Church is. By this means also great numbers are frighted from Religion in general, become Atheists, concluding that to be a meer Fable, about which there are so many and such endless quarrels and bickerings, and which the professors of, after so long time, and so much consideration, are not, will never be agreed about, and it is indifferent to them that believe all Religion a cheat, which gets uppermost, for they that are really of none, can and will seem to be of any Church
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or Perswasion they can either get or save by, if either their safety or profit require it, they can creep as devoutly to a Crucifix as they can kneel to God Almighty. Lastly, by drawing multitudes of People from it, the Jesuits have great hopes of gaining their so much desired, and so long endeavour'd point, *The destruction of our Church*; for we see how Zealous and Industrious the Dissenters have been and are to ruin or pluck it down, which shews them to be set on by the Jesuits, and their Agents, to do their work for them (though perhaps they know not, do not consider whose servants they are) for if our Church be destroy'd, Popery will certainly rise out of the ruins of it, there being nothing to make head against it when that is gone, this is the great Bulwork or Fort Royal; which if they can take either by undermining Treachery, or open Force, the day is theirs. So that they who charge our Divisions upon the Jesuits, as the Authors of them, have reason to justify that charge, and the truth of it is so fully proved by the excellent Dean of St. Pauls in the Preface to his *unreasonableness of Seperation* (to which I refer the Reader) that nothing needs be added to it. Page 11.

And being the first Sowers of these Tares, the Caufers and Fomenters of our Divisions, when they broak in upon our Church presently after the Reformation, and which they have with their utmost care and diligence propagated and continued ever since, with what face can they Upbraid us with, or make them an Objection

The Grand Expedient Examined.

against it? for them to set us together by the Ears, and then blame us that we do not agree, to be the Incendiaries and stir up Strife amongst us from Age to Age, from Generation to Generation, and then reproach us with our Contentions, is worse than Heathen Malice and Knavery; this is as barbarous as if a Man should set his Neighbours House on fire, and then blame him for letting it burn. We had lived in great Peace and Concord, and there had been no Schisms amongst us, if they had not help'd to disturb the one, and promoted the other, and our Wounds would be presently closed, we should return to our Ancient Unity, and live in the happiest Peace, if They and their chief Agents, the leading Schismatics, that imbroyl and divide us, were (as upon all accounts they deserve to be) *Excluded* or Driven out of the Nation. 'Tis certain that not only all Protestants, but the Papists themselves at the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign came to our Churches, and if *Pius Quintus* had not forbidden the Romish party to Communicate with, they had not Separated from us, and his Emisaries the Priests and Jesuites, did under colour of setting up a more Pure and Spiritual way of Worship, seduce many Protestants from the Church, and cause woful broyls and dissensions, which put that prudent and excellent Queen upon such methods as did effectually suppress and quiet them, and it is most Unreasonable, and right Jesuitical practice, for them to father their base and wicked off-spring upon us, to cause divisions

visions amongst us, and then reproach us with them.

Besides, they that thus accuse and upbraid us with ours, have many differences amongst themselves, those of their Religious Orders are notorious, and managed with great heat and earnestness. There are many bickerings amongst them about those points in which they differ from us: They are not agreed where to place the Infallibility, whether in the Pope alone, or a General Council alone, or in both of them together. They differ about his Supremacy, for some of them affirm that he hath no Authority over Princes, to give, take away or alienate their Kingdoms, and that he unjustly assumes to himself such Authority; others as stiffly assert or maintain that extravagant & usurped Power, cry it up as high as they can, hoping thereby to advance themselves. Some affirm, others deny him to be Universal Bishop. They are not agreed about the Latine Service, for some of them hold it would be more for the Edification of the People if it were in the Vulgar Tongue. They clash about the Worship that is to be given to *Images*, and what the *due honour* is, which the Council of *Trent* decrees to be given to them. They differ about the Power of Priests to remit sin, about the necessity and institution of Auricular Confession. They do not agree in the Doctrine of Justification, nor of Merit, nor concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass, nor the Communion under one kind, nor in divers other things, and how is it possible they should for having chosen Opinions that do not cohere

or

or hang together, they must needs disagree about them, and if their Tyrannical Discipline did not awe and suppress them, their differences would be as great and irreconcilable as any are in the World ; for when they wrangle loudest, if his Holyness do but threaten them with the *Inquisition*, they are as quiet as Lambs and dare not mutter at all. And if any desire farther satisfaction in the Case, they may consult the excellent Dean of *St. Pauls* in his Learned Discourse of *the Divisions of the Church of Rome*, where their differences and dissensions are fully proved and stated, and their false pretences to peace shamed and confuted. So that the unity they brag so much of is that of slaves, who are forc'd to be quiet for fear of the whip, let the holy *Inquisitors* scourge them, not with Rods as peevish Children are corrected, but with Scorpions as incorrigible offenders are punish'd. And if their Church was not upheld by force and cruelty, and the People kept in it like Beasts in a Pound, it would soon fall to peices and be the veryest *Babel* in the World. And till they have better peace and agreement amongst themselves, they may be ashamed to upbraid us with those divisions, they are the mischievous Authors and Promoters of.

'Tis certain too that our Divisions had never grown so great, nor continued so long, if the Laws had been duly Executed upon the Schismatics, for the just corrections they decree against the troublers of this our *Israel*, and the disturbers of our Peace, if inflicted, would have obliged them to give over their wicked
and

and dangerous practices. Such disorders and dissensions (as I remark'd before) by the Instigation of the *Romish* Emissaries, broak out with great Violence in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, but by the just severity of her Laws, duly and impartially Executed , she soon master'd and subdued them, and her Successour King *James* by the watchful and diligent use of the same means might have suppress'd them, and settled the Nation in firm and lasting Peace, if he had pleased, but the favour that was shew'd them, the mild and gentle usage they found in the latter part of his Reign, did so multiply and encourage that dangerous and stubborn Faction , that they were strong enough to bid Defiance to, and Ruin that glorious Prince, King *Charles* the First. So lamentable an Error is it for the Government to shew favour and clemency to these People, who when they have power make it appear by their barbarous Actions that they have no mercy, and no honesty. If they be let alone there is no end of Peoples whimsies and extravagancies in Religion, their Ignorance betrays them into the wildest Errours, they have such odd notions and apprehensions of it as instead of Civilizing , make them Savage and Brutish ; instead of being Just, Merciful, Humble, Peaceable, and Obedient to their Prince, prompt them to be Sawcy and Stubborn, Traytors, Heady, High-minded, Unjust and Cruel, Turbulent and Seditious : They have such a mighty admiration for every Factions Fellow that will but *Cant* and *Whine*, talke Impudently, and Sillily, and look Demurely, that he may govern them as he pleases,

pleases, they are his obsequious Slaves, and will venture upon any thing, how base, execrable, and damnable soever that he prompts them to, and therefore it is the interest of the Government to keep such Seducers from them, to provide that they be duly instructed in their duty as to God, so to their Prince, and if at any time they dare to transgress the Laws, and grow freakish through Religious Zeal, that they be punish'd for such dangerous Misdemeanours. This is absolutely necessary both for the Safety of the Prince, and the Peace of the Kingdom, 'tis not only doing Justice upon great and wilful Offendors, but Charity too, as it Keeps them from doing themselves and others the greatest harm and mischief, Curbs or Restrains the madness of the People. This is the wise and just method the Government now uses to Remedy these Evils, to bring the wild Schismatics to their Wits again, to reduce them to better Manners and a more Quiet or Submissive Temper, and it will, if duly and diligently followed, put an end to our Divisions; then we shall live as Christians ought to do, in Love, Peace and Unity, *with one mind and one mouth glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*; then our united Prayers will call down the choicest Blessings upon us, and none can make our discords a pretence to run from our Church, because that scandal will be removed; then our Differences will be composed, our Breaches repaired, and the Divisions we have so long labour'd under, will be no more an Objection against us; then our Ruin will be prevented.

vented, our Enemies put to silence, and we shall be an happy People, which that God, who is the Author and Lover of Peace, mercifully grant for his Sons Sake.

The next Scandal or Offence that would be taken away, is the open Prophaneness or Impiety into which the Nation is laps'd, for all (that do not wilfully shut their eyes) may see how our Ancient Piety and Holiness are decay'd, that though we profess the best and purest Religion, yet a great part of the Nation are sadly debauched, lead very impure and vitious lives, which is the more to be admired and lamented, because, both our Religion and Laws condemn and forbid such vile and unchristian practise. The profess'd Atheism, and the open Scorning or Deriding all Religion, how intolerable are they in a Christian Kingdome, and such horrid crimes as are sufficient of themselves (if we had no other guilts) to ruin the Nation by calling down the most dreadful judgments upon us, and provoking God to cast us off? In former Ages they that were so unreasonable as to deny the Author of their being, and the great Creator of the World, were yet so cautious as to conceal their impious unbelief of his Existence; with their mouths they did not, durst not, though in their hearts they said with the fool, *There is no God*: but now such an one is laugh'd at as a timorous and sneaking Atheist, as a modest ungentile Infidel, that dares not set his mouth against Heaven, and tell all the wise and religious part of Mankind they ly, if they
say

say there is a God. This is such brazen and impudent wickedness, that the very Heathens abhor'd, and severely punish'd it. What a shame is it then that such monsters of men should dare in a Christian State openly to deny the God it Worships, of whose Existence there is so much rational Evidence, so many mighty Arguments and convincing Proofs (as hath been shew'd by many learned Writers of our Church) that can permit no man to be an Atheist, but he whose horrid contempt of Him, and violation of his Laws cause to despair of finding mercy from him, and to think his crimes so great that he will not forgive them? 'Tis certain that all wicked men wish with all their hearts there were no God to call them to account for their lewd and filthy living, but their wishing of it will not make him cease to be, who is as certainly as they deny him, he whom they now renounce and scoff at will one day reckon with them for all the affronts they have put upon him, *who will laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear cometh*, and we might leave them to be punish'd by his vengeance and their own debaucheries, but that they are so mischievous to the state. For setting the provocation it gives to God aside, this open Atheism ought not to be suffer'd, because it is most pernicious to the Government: For is not this the Foundation of all that Honour and Obedience, which men pay to Sovereign Princes, that they are Gods Vicegerents, derive their Power and Authority from him, and Govern the World in his stead, are his Representatives
and

and Commissioners? but they that say there is no God deny all this, make Empire or Dominion a meer humane creature, and so free men from the strongest and most effectual obligations to obedience, which Religion lays upon them, and put those weak ones (which are easily broaken) in their stead, Interest, want of Opportunity, fear of temporal Punishment. For such men will obey the Prince no longer than he heaps his Royal favours and benefits upon them, than he advances and enriches them, when he turns the streams of his bounty from them they are disoblighd, and watch for an Opportunity to depose him, and when ever they think it safe to make head against him, or can find a Powerful Faction to lead, they will be sure to Rebel, because then they fear nothing from the Prince in this, and believe nothing that Religion speaks of the Punishments of the other World. But he that believes there is a God, and Princes to Reign by Him, by his Order and Appointment, that he requires all their Subjects to Reverence and obey them, and that he will inflict Eternal Punishments upon all, that for any cause whatsoever Rebel or take Arms against them, this Man cannot, dares not, so long as he believes these things, refuse to pay them all due honour and obedience. And therefore for their own Sakes, as well as for the honour of their Glorious Founder, it is the great Interest and Concern of Princes to punish open and profess'd Atheists, as his, and their most dangerous Enemies, especially those that make it their Common practice to expose, and render every

every thing ridiculous that is believed by others to bear his Name and Inscription, laugh at his Laws which he hath given us to direct our Lives and Actions, as injurious and unreasonable impositions, that require Men to deny themselves the Pleasures and Delights of the World, to part with every thing that is dear to them, to endure Poverty and Death, and all the miseries of the World, and all this to obtain Rewards, and avoid Punishments which are to commence after this Life. These and all their other Blasphemies against God, and his Son Christ Jesus, and his most Wise, Holy, and Excellent Religion, would be severely and exemplarily punish'd, and one such Decree, as King *Nebuchadnezzar* made in honour of God would effectually stop the mouths of these bold Sinners, and Mischievous as well as Impudent Blaspheme-

Dan. 3. 29. *mers. Therefore I make a decree that every People, Nation, and Language, which speak anything amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut in peeces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill, because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort: Such a Bill of Exclusion as this, to shut Atheism Blasphemy, and Prophaneness out of the Nation, and the strict Execution of the good Laws already in being, upon all the Reigning Sins that are amongst us, would conduce mightily to the security and preservation of our Religion, both as it would prevail with God to continue it amongst us, and discourage our Enemies from attempting the subversion and destruction of it.*

First, prevail with God to continue it amongst us, for when he sees a Nation or People have that

that high honour and esteem for his Laws, as to obey them heartily, make it their chief study and endeavour to live up to them, prize them above all Earthly Injoyments, and admire them as the most precious Treasure; his goodness will not permit him to take them from such a People, because they answer all the ends he proposed to himself in the donation of them, which are his Honour and their Salvation: His honour that he might be glorify'd by their Piety and Holyness, by all those vertuous Actions and good Works which they perform in obedience to them: Their Salvation, that his bounty and goodness in rewarding them with the Immortal Felicities of his Heavenly Kingdom, might appear great and illustrious, and be the Subject of their eternal Praises and Thanksgivings: And if these be the ends of his giving of them (as no doubt they are) 'tis reasonable to believe that by obeying the Laws of Christ, by leading the pure and holy Lives his Religion requires of us, we oblige and invite the Divine Goodness to preserve or continue it amongst us, because we put it to the excellent use he intended it for. But if we prophane and dishonour it by lewd and impure living, if we call our selves Christians, and live like Heathens, the worst and most brutish sort of Heathens, as we deserve so sad a punishment, so it is most just for God to take his Gospel from us, it being as our Saviour speaks, *Casting pearls before swine*, to continue a divine and holy Law to People laps'd into all Impurity and Sensual living, for the *Alcoran* is fitter for such vile people than

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the Gospel, because that allows them to be as vicious as they please, but this consists of whatsoever things are true, and honest, and just, and pure, and lovely, and of good report, of all those excellent vertues that can raise and advance our nature, make us holy, just, and merciful as our Heavenly Father is, and both requires, and with the most perswasive Arguments presseth us to the practise of them, which if we refuse to do, as we cast contempt and reproach upon our Religion, so we provoke God to take it from us, unless we prevent so sad and deplorable a loss by our unfeigned Repentance, as our Lord admonish'd the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candlestick out of his place (take my Gospel from thee) except thou repent.* Let it be the care then of all that are in Authority to suppress the great and crying Sins, to Exclude the bold and reigning wickedness out of the Nation, and there will be no fear but God will be *With us*, and continue his Gospel, or the true Religion amongst us.

Secondly, this will be an excellent *Expedient* to secure our Religion, as it will discourage our Enemies from attempting the Subversion and Destruction of it, when they see us lead the pure and blameless lives it requires of us, behold our good Conversation in Christ, they will be ashamed to call us Hereticks, being an holy People, a Pious and Righteous Nation, they will fear that what *Balaam* said of *Israel* will be

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verifi'd in us, *surely there is no Inchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel*: 'Tis in vain (they will say) for us to Plot or Enterprize against them, their Piety makes them dear to God, and their Innocence is their protection, we may ruin our selves but we cannot hurt them, so long as they adhere to God he will not forsake them, not suffer them to be cast down, nor let any harm happen to them, the Arrows we shoot at them will wound our selves, and we shall fall into the Destruction we intended for them: Nay when they see us add to our pure Faith a Vertuous and Christian Life, they will be tempted to admire and think our Church a Lovely Image or Resemblance of Heaven, in which Righteousness Reigns, and from which Wickedness is Banish'd or Excluded, and that admiration will be a powerful inducement to invite or draw them to us, urge them to leave their Idols and joyn in the pure Worship we present unto God, perswade them to turn from darkness to light, from their Sinful and Disconsolate Superstition, to our Holy Religion, which fills our Souls with Joy and Comfort now, and leads them to Eternal Bliss and Pleasures. But if we continue in our present Impieties they will scorn us and our Religion for them, despise us as humourfome and perverse People that hold the truth in unrighteousness, the purity of our Doctrine, being cover'd with the filth and rubbish of our Vices, will be sully'd and look dim, not appear at all lovely or inviting to them; they will think they have reason to hate us, because our wicked Lives have made us hated of God, and will be

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confident either of his approbation of, or connivance at their designs and attempts against us, believe God is not for us, and therefore that they may safely and successfully be against us. They will call us Hypocrites for finding fault with their way of Worship, whilst our wilful Sins defile our own: With what face (they will ask) can you charge us with giving too much Honour to the Saints, when you account their Lives to be Folly, deny them that which all the Christian World confesses to be due to them, even the Honour of Imitation, refuse to follow their good Examples, and have very few Reliques or remains of their Piety amongst you? How dare you blame us for the multitude of our Ceremonies, when you have turn'd all Religion into a Ceremony, or meer Complement, saying, Lord, Lord, but do not the will of God? If it be unlawful for us to assert the merit, how abominable is it in you to deny the necessity of good works, as it is evident, you do by refusing to perform them? If our Church be guilty of some Errours, your People are defiled with many Impieties, and need another Reformation; why then are you such Hypocrites as to take notice of the *mote in our eye, and not to cast the beam out of your own.*

Thus will they upbraid and reproach us, and having so much to object, encourage themselves in mischief against us, and therefore as it ought to be the great and earnest care of private Persons to reform what is amiss in their Lives, so of all that are in Authority both to be Examples of Piety to the People and by Execu-

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ring the Laws upon them *to be a terrour to the evil doers*, that our Religion may neither be dishonour'd nor endanger'd by the Impieties of the Professors of it, that God may not be provoked to take it from us, our Enemies encouraged to attempt against it, nor any be offended, or tempted to run from it, because we disgrace it by our unsuitable lives, but that every thing be removed that may stain the beauty, obscure the glory of it, render men fugitives from, rather than Converts to it.

The other great Scandal which I desire may be removed, is the high Injustice and Indignities that have been offer'd to the Duke himself, 'tis certain that he hath had the hardest measure, and the greatest injury tender'd him, and therefore in Justice ought to have some proportionable reparation made him, which that it may be effected, 'tis my request to the People that they will make a better choice whensoever the King pleases to call a Parliament. Let it be your care, my beloved Countrymen, to Elect Loyal and Honest Men, Men that fear God, and hate Iniquity or unjust dealing, that dare depend upon God in the use of fair and Innocent means, for the security of our Religion, and every thing else that is dear to them, and will not do a base or unworthy thing to save them.

You see what irreparable injury and horrid mischief, the Fanatick Faction, those great admirers of the *Bill of Exclusion*, would have done you, took away the breath of your Nostrils, the Anoynted of the Lord, by a most barbarous and execrable *Assasination*, they had Plotted

(and if the merciful God had not prevented them) would have kil'd your King, a King under whose wise and just Government you live in Piety, Peace, and Plenty, injoy all the Blessings you can desire, or Heaven can give you in this World, a Prince that loves you, and consults your welfare, and is always Solicitous or thoughtful to secure your quiet and happiness.

His Royal Brother too, should have been murder'd with him, and as they are conjoyn'd in blood and the dearest affection, so the same untimely and cruel fate was intended for them both, that Life which his Royal Highness had so bravely ventured for the safety and defence of his Country, should by the most execrable treachery and baseness have been took from him.

And do, or can you think they that had conspired the destruction of two such excellent Princes, would, if their hellish design had succeeded, have been either merciful or just to you? No, no! Multitudes of you had perish'd by their bloody Swords, and those that had escaped would have lead a Life worse than Death, the Life of Slaves, a life made miserable and tedious by continual fears and intolerable oppressions. The Estates your careful Parents left you, or which you have obtained by your own Labour and Industry, would have been a prey to these your new Masters, and when they had been devour'd, you must have drudg'd for more to glut their insatiable covetousness.

I conjure you therefore by all that is dear to you, by the Honour, Love, and Loyalty you
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bear to the King, and as you tender your own safety and happiness, to chuse none of the *Excluders*, none that gave their votes for that (as I suppose I have proved it) wicked *Bill*, or are known to be admirers and favourers of it, if you do, you are partakers in their guilt, create new trouble and disquiet, vexation and danger to the King, offer fresh injuries and indignities to his Royal Highness, cast more reproach and dishonour upon our Religion, encourage men of Trayterous and Wicked Principles to Plot and Imagine more mischief, and so bring your selves and the Kingdom into misery and ruin.

Be wise then, and let not remote and distant, if not imaginary, prompt you to expose the King, the whole Nation, and consequently your selves to present and real dangers, but take the first opportunity to remedy all these evils: There is no want of loyal and brave persons (thanks be to God) that are able and ready to serve him, their King, and you in that high Station, if you please to make choice of them, you may know them by their fruits, their *Addresses and Abhorrences*, that is, by the Declarations they have made of their Loyalty, and Resolution to stand by and defend the Kings most Sacred Maiesty with their Lives and Estates against all his Enemies, and all Traytors both Popish and Fanatick, and their protestations of their dislike and hatred of the injurious Treatment that hath been offer'd to his Royal Highness. These are the men that must close our gaping wounds, heal our rui-

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nous Dissentions, appease our deadly Feuds and Differences, and restore us to our Ancient Peace and Happiness: But the other are Physicians of no value, their Physick is too violent, instead of recovering it would destroy the Patient, they are not for moderate Counsels, but run into dangerous extreams, bring fuel to feed, instead of water to quench the Feuds and Contentions that burn so fiercely amongst us. Be sure then to leave out these, and chuse the other, the Men of Loyalty and Integrity, who as they hate Popery, so they do heartily love Righteousness, these will please God and the King, and it will be an high honour and a great happiness to you, and the whole Nation to have such *excellent Representatives*.

And hoping the next House of Commons will consist of such worthy Patriots and Members, I humbly petition that, then, truly Honourable House, that they will please to do that, which God and all good men expect from them, and their own loyalty and generosity cannot but prompt them to, that they will make some grateful and suitable Returns to the King for all his Royal care, watchfulness, most prudent and happy endeavours to preserve us in Peace, and secure our excellent Church, and most holy Religion from all the attempts of all its Enemies. The Ship of State, and all its precious Lading must needs have perish'd, when the winds of Sedition blew so lowd, and the waves of Faction raged, and the storms of popular Tumults beat so Furiously against it, if his Royal hand had not Guided the helm,
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steer'd an even and a wary course. But, Oh, what care and labour, how many anxious thoughts, sleepless nights, and painful days did it cost him to weather the Storm? And can you be so ungrateful as to overlook his Royal labours to attain this rest, and render him no agreeable returns for them? It cannot be! your Loyalty will not, your Piety cannot suffer you to be so unmindful either of your own Duty, or his Princely Care and Goodness to you. As you have congratulated his deliverance, and paid your solemn thanks to Heaven for it, and in his your own, so let it be your care to put his Sacred Majesty into such a condition, by your liberal Supplies, that he may be able to defend himself, and you, and all his good Subjects from the Violence and Cruelties of all the Disturbers of the Peace, and Destroyers of the Happiness you enjoy under his Royal Care, and most prudent Government.

This is a Tribute your gratitude cannot, your wisdom will not deny to such a Prince, that so tenderly loves, so watchfully protects you; and having fill'd Heaven with thanks for the wonderful preservation of his Sacred Person and most Precious Life, and all parts of the Nation with your admirations and praises of his incomparable Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness, what an unpardonable Solecism and Error will it be, to give encouragement to the Wicked and Seditious to enterprise or attempt any thing against him, by reason of the emptiness of his Exchequer.

To keep the Prince poor is dangerous to the People, both because it renders him unable
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to protect them, and also abates their fear, and thereby animates his and their Enemies to attempt against him, and to endeavour the Subversion of the Government. And it is very reasonable to believe the late proceedings had never run so high, but that the Authours of them presumed upon the necessities of the King, they thought (though with strange Insolence and Impiety) he would deny them nothing they demanded of him, in hopes of getting money of them. All which evils it is now in your power to prevent, the Nation by His Majesties Providence and excellent Conduct is in a flourishing condition, the Loyal Party are so willing to give, that if you do not make haste, they will Assess themselves rather than their Prince shall want, and the Disaffected can find money Voluntarily to contribute towards the Subversion and Destruction of the Government, and therefore should be forced to pay towards the Support and Preservation of it. If the wicked Conspirators had prevailed in their late villanous Design, both your Lives and Estates had been a prey to their barbarous Cruelty, and insatiable Covetousness, and having escaped so dreadful a Danger, and such imminent Ruin, take heed how you encourage them to imagine any more Mischief, by denying the King such Supplies as are necessary for his, and yours, and all our preservation.

Let it be your care also to cover the Pit which the *Excluders* have dug, I mean, to make his Royal Highness reparation for the injurious and unworthy Treatment he hath received from them:

them: You have abhorr'd it without doors, therefore do it within, cast out the *Bill* as a wicked & abominable thing, & shut the door after it, that it may never return any more. Be pleas'd to do that, which your great Wisdom and Justice cannot but prompt you to, Go to the Duke and let him know your deep resentments of the wrongs that have been offer'd him, and beseech him not to think the worse either of you, or the Establish'd Religion for them, because this hath taught you, and all the true Members of the Church of *England* to abominate the *Project of Exclusion* as a peice of high and execrable Injustice. Shew him the difference between the true, and the seeming Protestants, that those have so much Religion and fear of God, that they dare do injury to no man, much less to their Princes, and had rather suffer themselves than they should, whereas these have more Zeal than Honesty, and care not whom they injure and oppress, so they can but secure and preserve their own dear selves. Treat him with all the honour and respect due to his Royal Birth & Vertues, omit nothing that may testify your high esteem and veneration for him, use all the fair and prudent means you can, to gain his favour and good opinion of you, and to convince him of the justness and honesty of your intentions towards him.

Such methods as these are Christian and Noble, and fit to be practis'd towards a Prince, and may by the Blessing of God work very much upon his great and generous Soul (brave Spirits being sometimes courted to that which they will

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will never be hector'd into) and (if he be a Papist) be instrumental to his Conversion, which will not only be grateful or pleasing to God, his Angels and Saints in Heaven, but fill this our *English* Earth with Joy, revive our languishing Happiness, restore our Nation to its ancient Glory, put a blessed period to all our Distractions and Confusions, then we shall live in Peace and Unity amongst our selves, and, unless we be the most ungrateful People in the World, in true Piety & Obedience to our God, who hath done so great things for us; then it will be well with us, and happy shall we be, & Forreigners will call these Kingdoms as they did of old, *The Fortunate Islands* : All which the great and Gracious Governour of the World, God Almighty, in whose hands the Hearts of Princes are, Grant for the Merits of our dear Redeemor. *Amen.*



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